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The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the this of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ep-OUNCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 22, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1539.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-

stables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse,

they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, our fathers, IN

PRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWERVED PROM THE

RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and

Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving

of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong

doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

VOL. XXX. NO. 25.

MR. SUMNER'S POSITION DEFINED.

The question raised as to Mr. Sumner's politics has been settled definitively. The Republican Legislature of Massachusetts, which was called together may days ago to legislate on the cow disease, last night passed resolutions defining Mr. Sumner's political to the company of the billion of sight passed resolutions defining Mr. Sumner's poli-tics, and legislating him a Republican of the highest rank. This was done in order promptly to rebuke those presses in New York, which, by their silence, issimuttons and open assertions, undertook to make people believe that the Senator from Massachusetts s not a Republican-that the Republicans, as a s not a Republicant ry, were no more responsible for what Mr. Sum-resid in the Senate, than they were for what Mr. arrison said in his Liberator. The General Court arrison said in his Liberator. Garrison said in his Liberator. The General Court has decided this controversy; and decided it in such a way as not to leave doubts. The decision is much clearer than the 'protection' clause of the Lincoln platform. It has not only legislated that Mr. Sumner is a Republican in good standing, but it has endorsed his speech, which the N. Y. Times denounced, which the Tribune would not read, and which the Couries A. Enquirer characterized as an hich the Courier & Enquirer characterized as an Abbilition' performance. The Times's denuncia-tions were deserved, the Tribune's silence was an illustration of 'civil prudence,' but the Courier's Sumer is no more an abolitionist than those who apport him; and we have the authority of the dature for this. The accredited and hitherto Legislature for this. The accredited and interest trusted organs of the Republican party of New York may undertake to poo-poo Mr. Soumer and his late speech; but the Legislature of Massachusetts endorse him and it.—Boston Courier.

The endorsement of Mr. Sumner's speech, by the Black Republican Legislature of Massachusetts, is hold adoption of the rankest Abolition sentiments as the creed of the Black Republicans—the support-ers of Lincoln and Hamlin. It accepts Garrison as the Black Republican prophet and leader, with all his diabolical heresies, and gives unequivocal assent to his avowal that 'the United States Constitution s a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell. Sumner's speech contained the highest eulogy of Garrison he could utter, and the Black Republicans of Massachusetts place their seal of approba-tion upon what Sumner said, by solemn Legislative resultes, which they direct to be sent to the officers and members of the National Legislature. Thus has Garrison Abolitionism been formally adopted as Black Republicanism, and what the Massachusetts Legislature has joined, let no man put asunder. Now we have Black Republicanism in its pure state— without mask or disguise of any kind—it is admited to be the twin brother of Garrison-Phillips Abbitionism, united by the strong ligament of solemn, formal, Legislative declaration. The people will clearly understand that it is not the 'rail-splitter they are asked to call to power, but the Union-eplitter with Abolitionism for his wedge.—Boston

Mr. Sumper's speech has made a bad impression. There are none who do not regard it as ill-timed and ill-judged in every respect. Friends wish what he said had been unsaid, and deeply regret the want of policy in such a thrice-told tirade upon an imprac-ticable theory, at a time when practicality is in special demand. It illustrates no less his total unfitness for public station than his utter inaptitude for political warfare. It will prejudice his party with-out benefiting his cause. Enemies are exasperated by it to an extreme degree, and the current of symthy which circumstances had enlisted in his be-f, is changed to a virulent flow of hostility towards him personally, and towards the sectional sentiment which he assumes to represent. It un-masks Republicanism, and strips it of the guises and pretexts upon which its more wily and more prudent advocates depended for success. It is an insidious advocates depended for success It is an insidious and faithless blow at the Constitution, and in its inevitable import is thoroughly disunion. In his in-vective at Faneuil Hall, against the Fugitive Slave Law, Mr. Sumner invoked the forcible resistance to that measure which virtually annulled and repealed the Stamp Act—a case in no sense analogous, be-cause without any constitutional warrant whatever. but, mind you, he added, 'I do not counsel vio-lence.' So now, while estensibly deprecating the sectionalism which threatens the permanence of our stitutions, his speech is the essence and aggrega institutions, his speech is the essence and aggrega-tion of doctrines which can have no realization but in the overthrow of the Constitution and the dis-ruption of every national bond. The speech, in a word, has added rancer to the embittered feeling of word, has added rancer to the embittered feeling of the South; and the North, whether justly or not, will be held responsible for its repugnant and un-friendly sentiments. The Republican party will have something to do to counteract its effects upon ir prospects in the approaching campaign.
shington correspondent of the Boston Courier.

Charles Sumner's recent speech is a curiosity that has no parallel, at least on our Senatorial record. Pedantry, egotism, fatuitous hypotheses, malice, thatsody and verbosity stripe and emblazon it with lisgusting conspicuousness. His chronic distemp His chronic distemper, almost every paragraph, and struts throughout with amost every paragraph, and struts throughout with Indicrous arrogance. The full reservoir of his vitu-pration is poured out upon South Carolina, the brave Palmetto State, enwreathed with the sacred memories of Fort Moultrie and Camden and Cowas her memory reverts to the days when Webster and Choate honored the chairs now occupied by d Choate honored the chairs now occupied by unner and Wilson. Well may she supplicate for that spirit that animated her then, and made her the days of Thomas Jefferson, as she witnesses in the days of Thomas Jefferson, as she witnesses the debasement of her once brilliant history—as she allows her sentiments to be misunderstood by the polished misrepresentation of Sumner and the simulating demagoguism of Wilson. Well may she regret, as she peruses the malignant address of Senator Sumner, that her views are assumed to be reached more by the frenzied declamation of the Abblittonian than the dignoscipate are Abolitionistic theologian than the dispassionate, argumentative logic of the practical statesman; more maticism of the opinionated moralist than muolating spirit of the true patriot. The four Senatorial essayist makes apt the

The ruling passion, be it what it will. The ruling passion conquers reason still." -Boston Post.

No one can rise from a perusal of this speech without a contempt for the author and a conviction of his unfitness for his place. . . If Mr. Sumper were a religious man, he would be a persecutor. Instead, he has adopted a vague philosophy of his creed, and he proclaims a political crusade against brethren living under a common Constitution. Mr. Sumner will go to Europe for his reward. At this moment, the avitance and the climarchies of the

calls 'The barbarism of slavery'; but for what purpose, it will puzzle the readers of these speeches to say, unless it be to keep up and infuse fresh life into that B hon Upas to the country,—to its vast interests and its patriotic instincts,—anti-slavery of the Legislature, more than half of the Cabinet

SELECTIONS.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES F. ADAMS, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION, Delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, all the ramifications of the political agenc May 31, 1860.

MR. CHAIRMAN-On the third day of the present

deprecate the misfortune is as idle as to complain of the force of the waters of Niagara. The subject is before us, and it is our duty to face the consideration of its proportions like statesmen, and not to imagine that, if we only shut our eyes to it, it is not there; still less to suppose that either lamentation or anger, agitation or silence, will in any respect materially observed.

Old World unite in an attempt to decry American institutions, and to expose this country to the distributions, and to expose this country to the distribution, and the people. The reason is that we are draining their life-blood in emigration; and our cotton place as in a position of independence but of dictation. Mr. but the distribution in the proud position attained by his country as the champion of that cause, ever the way they did it. Was it not by creating the doubt upon the introduction of independence but of dictation. Mr. but the features of the government have practically under the shelter of this because the doubt upon the introduction. The fact is beyond constitution in the proud position attained by his country as the champion of that cause, ever the way they did it. Was it not be greatly don't the government that the question move in not what Mr. Jefferson the greatly doubted the propose of the government have practically of the exposition of independence but of the propose of the proposition of independence but of the proposition of indepen Massachusetts, through her representatives, (says the Boston Post.) is making a deplorable exhibit in the Council Halls of the nation. Charles Francis Adams, in the House, has made a speech to show up 'a stupendous oligarchy' which the Constitution recognizes:—Charles Sumner, in the Senate, has set forth, in a thousand and one counts, what he calls 'The barbarism of slavery'; but for what purpose, it will puzzle the readers of these speeches.

into that Bohon Upas to the country,—to its vast interests and its patriotic instincts,—anti-slavery agitation. There seems to be practical point to neither speech. In relation to Summer's effort, the New York Times, (Republican,) has a criticism that is just and true:—

'From beginning to end, it was a vehement deferming to the Constitution, as you may; concede to the free regions all advantage in relative growth that you can, the stern fact yet remains of the constant and true; and the constant are represented in the constant and the constant are represented in the stern fact yet remains of the Cabinet of the Legislature, more than half of the Cabinet officers in the executive department, and five out of the judges of the supreme judicial tribunal?

Apportion the increase of population, according to the Constitution, as you may; concede to the free regions all advantage in relative growth that you can, the stern fact yet remains of the constant. From beginning to end, it was a vehement denunciation of slavery. The labor of four leisure years seems to have been devoted by Mr. Sunner to collecting every instance of cruelty, violence, passion, coarseness and vulgarity recorded as having happened within the slave States, or as having been committed by a slaveholder. Congressional debates, State codes, public meetings, newspaper files, and police reports, have been studied and collated with painful industry; statistical tables have been ransacked for evidence of relative decay and inferiority on the part of the slave States:—and the whole has been wrought into a speech, argumentawhole has been wrought into a speech, argumentative in form, but purely denunciatory in fact and intention,—and apparently designed merely to string and exasperate the slaveholding portion of his audience and of the country to the highest pitch of human endurance.'

In comparison with this, what was the Bank of the United States? What is the Bank of Company? The complaint was made of the latter that its members controlled a few venal boroughs in Parliament. But here the shareholders sit contents to the state of their stack in both Houses. stantly 'by virtue' of their stock, in both Houses of Congress, in the Cabinet of the executive, and on the bench of the highest judicial court. They help make, they execute, and they expound the laws of the land. For my part, I must say that I have observed nothing in the pages of history so skillfully adapted to the establishment of a stupendous oligarchy as this interlacing of the interests of a single species of what is denominated property, with all the ramifications of the nolitical acencies in a stantly 'by virtue' of their stock, in both Houses

State.

Truly, then, has the gentleman said, we cannot be fathers and our fathers. MR. CHAIRMAN—On the third day of the present session, a gentleman from Mississippi, distinguished for his perspicuity of statement, but in a spirit consented to put into the Constitution. I, for one, more defiant than to my untutored sense seemed to be called for by the occasion, used the following language:—

'One gentleman said we had brought the negro in strument, I have no intention to cut off. But, on the other hand, it should be observed that no ad-One gentleman said we had brought the negro in here, and that he must be put out. Let us see you do it!

Sir, there are twenty members from the South standing upon the floor by virtue of the negro, not as property, but as "persons not free." Put them out, will you? Sir, your fathers and my fathers did not put the negro out. The put him, as an institution of ment, this is particularly true. No man, or set of will you? Sir, your fathers and my fathers did not put the negro out. Thy put him, as an institution of property, and of society, and of government, in the Constitution which you, gentlemen, swore to support.

Of course, this putting in of the negro is a mere figure of speech. If he were veritably here in propria persona, I presume nobody would be more indignant than the gentleman himself. No. It is the master who stands here 'by virtue of the negro.' And it is in this sense that the gentleman's remark is forcible; for in this sense it is true. We cannot put the negro out. This remark serves as a complete stopper to all the crimination and recrimination so freely indulged in between parties on the solemn point—which of the two first brought the negro in. Let them rest quiet hereafter on this topic. The negro was in before they began to talk about him at all. He will stay in, whether they choose to talk about him or not. He will grow in more and more, even while they are sleeping. To deprecate the misfortune is as idle as to complain of the force of the waters of Niagara. The subject is

stands in the way to prevent it, would be ample inagine that, if we only shut our eyes to it, it is into there; will less to suppose that either lamentation or anger, agitation or silence, will in any reproduce which North America is invitably domed to solve. From the decree of Divine Providence there is no appeal.

In one important particular, however, the gentleman from Mississipph has fallen considerably below the fact. He says that twenty members stand upon this floor by virtue of the negro. If this were so, I should be glad to see and to identify them—to set them apart, and to define the precise limit of the political power which the Constitution has the created. Even twenty members would constitute no insignificant element in the struggles which will always be carried on for the attainment of power in always be carried on for the attainment of power in the negro, innet members stand upon this floor, the negro, innet members and seed the negro, interty members and upon this floor, the negro, interty members and upon this floor, and not only the proposition of the gentleman stop at this point. The negro does not remain stationary. He multiplies all day and every day. The number of the point of the negro does not remain stationary. He multiplies all day and every day. The number of the point of the negro described in the point of the negro does not remain stationary. He multiplies all day and every day. The number of this floor, it is not to be a standary, it makes it only more admortal to the contrary, it makes it only more admortal of the time of the presence of the existence of sixteen millions of upon a shared. However, it is not be a larning, I flow, then, can it be advanced in the face of a combination of wealth the presence of the existence of sixteen millions of upon a shared. However, it is not the current of the structure of the carried of the carried of the carried of the negro. The imagination recoils from the idea of a government, professing to be founded on human freedom, and yet conting the cu

the progress that has been since made in the recoginition of popular rights in every civilized country
down to the present time. It would doubtless
have been still more rapid, but for the astonishing
fact that the very people which was the first to
enunciate the great truth has been slowly but
steadily withdrawing itself from all sympathy with
the prosecution of it. Imperceptibly at first, but
very distinctly within a short time, this reaction
when the respective representatives before the world
force, under the old argument of prescription. It when the respective representatives before the world force, under the old argument of prescription. It of this great nation have united in one grand is the tyrant's plea of necessity, varnished over with eclaration, and that is, that there are men the thin gilding of modern politico-judicial Democ-

the dictions. But we are now given to underscribed by the control of the way of it is this: the language of the Delents-originally on nothing but fraud and force. Surely, and definally, for entrale to be self-ordered by the street of the self-order control of the way of it is this: the language of the Delents-originally on nothing but fraud and force. Surely, and the self-order control of the way of it is this: the language of the Delents-originally on nothing but fraud and force. Surely, and the self-originally on the self-o

rights under this cruel tyranny? They are the very blacks of the African race whom the King had torn from their homes, and made slaves to the colonists of America. They are the very people of whom we are now told by the highest court, who would seem by their argument completely to justify that monarch, that they 'have no rights which a white man is bound to respect.' And, singularly enough, as if to mark, beyond the possibility of the most arrant fatuity to misconceive it, Mr. Jefferson's intent, in charging the sovereign with the crime of his determination to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he takes pains, in the original manuscript, with his own hand, to write the word 'MEN' in capital letters; the only word so written, it should be observed, in the whole body of the document. I would humbly submit, then, upon this evidence, that if any narrower application is to be made of the words 'all men,' than that which they naturally bear, a much stronger argument could be made from the context in favor of limiting it to all black men of the African race, than in defense of the attempt to 'wist it exclusively for the benefit of the whites. But when Mr. Jefferson appeals to the comprehensive term of 'human nature,' as possessing these rights, it is

country, instead of earning the glorious meed of the patriot's crown.

The cardinal principle of the Revolution, that which makes a real advance in the progress of political institutions, is that the individual man, whether in or out of the social organization, whilst doing no wrong, has certain rights which his fellowman all over the globe is bound to respect. The general establishment of this maxim in the practice of the nations of the world is, or ought to be, the mission of America during the present century of its speedy accomplishment. For some years it spread both at home and abroad; for it is not to be denied that the effect of her instruction has been and is still felt, not here alone, but in every quarter of the world. Nobody can have failed to observe the progress that has been since made in the recognition of popular rights in every civilized country

counter-declaration, and that is, that there are men all over the world whose rights no white man is bound to respect.

It does indeed appear as if this grave and solemn decree of Judges, of Presidents, of Senators, and Representatives in a free country, did fly in the face of the Declaration of Independence, long acknowledged among us as undoubted authority for political doctrine. But we are now given to understand, in these high quarters, that there is no difficulty in reconciling this apparent contradiction. The way of it is this: the language of the Declaration runs thus:—

the thin gilding of modern politico-judicial Democracy.

If I am right in my deductions, then the case stands thus at this moment; a great and powerful combination in the United States has been able so far to control political opinion as to carry the Government clean away from the acknowledgment of the soundness of doctrines of liberty universally recognized in the first half century of our career; and, furthermore, to make that Government justify and defend, for certain purposes, a law founded originally on nothing but fraud and force. Surely, if this be admitted, it can be no further cause of the beautiful present the surprise that those among the people who still re-

sist every practical form of its development. I say it not in any spirit of menace or of unkindness to those who disagree with me on this matter, but because I feel it to be a solemn duty incumbent upon me as a Representative of a State pledged by all its past history to maintain the cause of freedom and free institutions. There can be no compromise whatever on this issue.

So long as it remains undetermined—and that is equivalent to saying so long as the people of these States remain themselves free—so long an organized party will continue in the field, having for its main object the restoration, as a cardinal principle of the Federal Government, of the ancient doctrine of the inalienable rights of man. If this be a standing menace to the people of the slaveholding States, so be it. We may regret that they so regard it, and love them too, but we must love liberty more. So said Brutus and Cassius in their hour of peril, to Mark Antony, when he was deserting the sacred cause they had sworn to support: 'Vocemus to ac nulles inimicitias; sed tamen pluris nostrum liberta-tem quum tuam amicitiam æstimemus.'
The party thus associated has no purposes which

it seeks to conceal. It harbors no hostile designs against the rights of any of the States. Its leading idea is веговы, total and fundamental, in the spirit in which the government has of late years been ad-ministered—reform, also, in the details, which appear of late to have been suffered to run into many grave abuses. It is not to be concealed that all over the country there is a well-defined impression that, for the sake of retaining power, corruption has been tolerated, if not actively encouraged, in high places; and the various efforts at investigation made within a few years, so far from removing that uneasiness, have gone far to increase it. Without undertaking to judge of the truth or the error at the bottom of the feeling, I do yet maintain that, for the honor of the country, and of all who may be concerned in the administration of the government, there is an overruling necessity for a complete change of the persons

ruling necessity for a complete change of the persons now responsible for its direction.

The reform must be wide enough to restore freedom as the guide of the Federal policy, and to set aside the new idol which has usurped her throne. It must be deep enough to reinstate honesty above suspicion in the dispensation of the pecuniary contracts incident to the possession of great place. If the execution of such a policy as this constitutes good ground for a resort to extreme measures of regord ground for a resort to extreme measures of re-

to the contrary, there is and will be a common sympathy having its root in that universal principle, a simple allusion to which by a great dramatist of antiquity is said to have instantaneously elicited a burst of enthusiasm from the thousands who crowded the Roman theatre—'I am a man; nothing that touches men can fail to move me.'

Do you say that you can and will resist all this, that you will shut yourselves up at home, and see no more of the light of reason than is consistent with the preservation of what you are pleased to denominate your property; then try it a while if you are bent on the experiment. But permit me to predict, at this time, that it will ignominiously fail. You cannot separate from us, unless you blot from your memory all the traces of a common descent, a common literature, social affinities cemented by the dearon literature, social affinities cemented by the dear est ties, and of a common faith.

The violent men, who are counseling this extreme

policy, and in whom you now put your trust, will not retain their hold upon your confidence when you not retain their hold upon your confidence when you open your eyes to the consequences of their work, and to the causes which they assign in their justification. It may then be too late entirely to repair the damage; but, whether late or early, you shall not have it to say that there was not at least one voice, however humble, among those of your fancied opponents, which did not warn you of the folly of throwing off friends and fellow-citizens, only because they preferred to follow the doctrines taught by your and their fathers, rather than to desert them in your company. Choose we where you will them in your company. Choose ye where you will go; for us, we will adhere to the ancient faith.

The most marked attention was paid to the delivery of this speech, throughout, by the House.

thas been religiously ations charity. The the will be the troops as helped to an edecatie, and the poor manappealed to his syn.

LLLENS TORER. that has a UTATION.

oration has been used of the most distinns, who have prerums of the day even injuring h. This is VIRTUE IN r Restorative?

n by saying that we to have derived benefit us have come volunts-its to either themselves refereit became knewn Louis Presbyterian. RESTORATIVE hes wherever it has been perfect safety, and in ng, renders it a very ocate, Boston, Mass, ORLD'S HAIR RE.

ence.' Christian Chronisle. N. Y. Evangelist. edge Mus. S. A. Al. N. Y. Independent, HAIR RESTORER has of all articles of the christian Heraid.

ription or remedy for ed in the Advocate, y men of unquestion S. A. Allen's.' Christian Advocate the unlife-like color e hair to assume, and ir assume its NATURAL twhich will be effect.

A. Allen's World's

U. S. Journal.

present day, it is re-which is what it par-ent article is Mrs. S lestoren. As an ast service; and a man rious and unnecessary, re perfectly harmless, of ingredients calcu-growth of hair.' ing Gazette, Boston,

in the contract of the contrac we believe, that has n Mrs. S. A. Alles's Vhy is this? Simply, real merit, and has ance, to produce the he part of its proprie-d most extensive, and lenominated most ap-r Restorer. Newark Register.

that 'Mrs. S. A. AL-IAIR RESTORER. The e day. We know of cts have been remark-itor, Franklin N. Y.

St. Louis Ledger. HAIR RESTORER.—As chusetts a short time appearance indicated of sixty. So we institute that the should be a sixty of the should be a should be a sixty.

ing us that two years is grey, and that also he whole would have a friend read the partial tender and the year and the partial tender determined for a year at the had as luxuriof hair, as when she is a statement was content family, while we are neighborhood there the same happy and by applying Mrs. S. interc. Daily Tribunes. ments made in adver-ten's World's Hais loston Olive Branch.

Norfolk Argus Boston Transcript. to Europe even, and there as well as in

STREET, N. Y. and inquiries.

WHERE.

Now that the brave, manly, humane, upright THE-ODORE PARKER has seen 'the last of earth,' and ascended to a higher and nobler sphere of existence the following concluding passages (full of thrilling pathos and deep serenity) from his 'Experience as a Minister,' contained in a Letter from him to his Society, will be read at this time with special interest :-

To compose sermons, and preach them to multi-tudes of men of one sort but many conditions, thereto setting forth the great Truths of Absolute Religion, and applying them to the various events of this wondrous human life, trying to make the Constitution of the Universe the Common Law of men, illustrating my thought with all that I can gather from the World of Matter, its use and beauty both, and from the World of Man, from human laters are the second expedition horse, which bors, sorrows, joys and everlasting hopes,—this has been my great delight. Your pulpit has been my joy and my throne. Though Press and State, Market and Meeting-House, have been hostile to us, you have yet given me the largest Protestant audience in America, save that which Orthodox Mr. Beecher, who breaks with no theologic tradition of the New England Church, inspires with his deep emotional nature, so devout and so humane, and charms with nature, so devout and so humane, and his poetic elequence, that is akin to both the sweet-briar and the rose, and all the beauty which springs briar and the rose, and all the beauty which springs up wild amid New England hills, and to the loveliness of common life; I have given you my sermon in return, at once my labor and delight. My Life i in them, and all my character, its good and ill; thereby you know me better than I, perhaps, my-self,—for a man's words and his face when excited in sermon and in prayer tell all he is, the reflection of what he has done. Sermons are never out of my mind; and when sickness brings on me the conciousness that I have nought to do, its most pair following the first part of the mount to do, its most pain-ful part, still, by long habit all things will take this form; and the gorgeous vegetation of the Tropics, their fiery skies so brilliant all the day, and star-lit too with such exceeding beauty all the night; the glittering fishes in the market, as many-col-ored as a gardener's show, these Josephs of the ored as a gardener's snow, these Josephs of the sea; the silent pelicans, flying forth at morning, and back again at night; the strange, fantastic trees, the dry pods rattling their historic bones all day, while the new bloom comes fragrant out be-side, a noiseless prophecy; the ducks rejoicing in the long-expected rain; a negro on an ambling pad; the slender-legged, half-naked negro children in the street, playing their languid games, or oftener screaming neath their mother's blows, amid black swine, hens and uncounted dogs; the never-ceasing clack of women's tongues, more shrewd than female in their shrill violence; the unceasing, multifarious self-sufficient, West India Creole pride, alike con-temptuous of toil, and ignorant and impotent of thought,—all these common things turn into poetry as I look on or am compelled to hear, and then transfigure into sermons, which come also sponta-neously by night, and give themselves to me, and even in my sleep say they are meant for you. Shall they ever be more than the walking of

'A sick man in his sleep, Three paces, and then faltering'?

The doctors cannot tell : I also know not, but hope and strive to live a little longer, that I may work much more. Oh, that the truths of Absolute Remuch more. Oh, that the truths of Absolute Re-ligion, which Human Nature demands, and offers, too, from the Infinitely Perfect God who dwells therein, while He transcends the Universe, Oh, that these were an Idea enlightening all men's minds, a Feeling in their hearts, and Action in their outward life! Oh, that America's two and thirty thousand ministers, Hebrew, Christian, Mormon, knew these truths, and to mankind preached Piety and Morality, and that Theology which is the Science of God nd his two-fold Universe, and forgot their mytho-ogic and misguiding dreams! Then what a New Vorld were ours! Sure I would gladly live to work for this.

may recover entirely, and stand before you full of brown health, equal to the manifold labors of that position, live to the long period of some of my fathers, and at last die naturally of old age. This to me seems most desirable, though certainly not

I may so far recover, that I shall falter on score of years or so, one eye on my work, the other on my body, which refuses to do it, and so urge my weak and balky horse along a miry, broken road. If this be so, then, in some still, little rural nook, in sight of town, but not too nigh, I may finish of the many things I have begun, and left for the afternoon or evening of my days; and yet, also, from time to time, meet you again, and, with words of lofty cheer, look on the inspiring face of a great congregation. With this I should be well content; once it was the ideal of my hope.

In either of these cases, I see how the time of this illness, and the discipline alike of disappoint-

met with what seemed worse than death, and, in my short-sighted folly, I said, 'Oh, that I had Yet my griefs all turned into blessings; the joyous seed I planted came up Discipline and I wished to tear it from the ground; but flowered fair, and bore a sweeter, sounder fruit than I expected from what I set in earth. As I look over my life, I find no disappointment and no sorrow I could afford to lose; the cloudy morning has turned out the fairer day; the wounds of my enemies have done me good. So wondrous is this Humber of the country of the lower many than the lower mies have done me good. So wondrous is this Hu-man Life, not ruled by Fate, but Providence, which is Wisdom married unto Love, each infinite! What has been, may be. If I recover wholly, or but in part. I see new sources of power beside these waters of affliction I have stooped at; I shall not think I have gone through 'the Valley of Baca' in vain, grudge the time that I have lingered there, seeming idle: rainy days also help seed the ground. One thing I am sure of: I have learned the wealth and power of the grateful, generous feeling of men. as I knew them not before, nor hoped on earth to find so rich. High as I have thought of Human Nature, I had not quite done justice to the present growth of these beautiful faculties. Here ar so oft before, I have found more treasure than I dreamed lay hidden where I looked.

But if neither of these hopes becomes a fact, if the silver cord part soon above the fountain, an bowl be broke, let not us complain; owl, and a stronger cord, shall serve the Well of Life for you. Though quite aware how probable this seems, believe me, I have not yet had single hour of sadness; trust me, I shall not. True, it is not pleasant to leave the plough broken in the furrow just begun, while the seed-corn smiles in the open sack, impatient to be sown, and the whole field promises such liberal return. To say Farewell to the thousands I have been wont to preach to, and pray with, now joyous, and tearful now, -it has its bitterness to one not eighty-four, but forty-eight. To undo the natural ties more intimately knit of ong-continued friendship and of love .- this is the Death comes to none except to bring ssing; it is no misfortune to lay aside the well-loved weeds of earth, and he i ortal. ngregation, my loss may be easily supplied; and to me it is an added consolation to know that, however long and tenderly remembered, I should not long be missed; some other will come in my place, perhaps without my defects, possessed of nobler gifts, and certainly not hindered by the ecclesiastical and social hostility which needs must oppose a man who has lived and wrought as I. It will not always be unpopular justly to seek the welfare of all men. Let us rejoice that others may easily reap golden corn where we have but scared ild beasts away, or hewn down the savage, burning them with dangerous fire, and make the rich, rough ground smooth for culture. It was with grimmer fight, with source sweat, and blacker smoke, and redder fire, that the fields were cleared

where you and I now win a sweet and easy bread. What more shall I say to sweeten words of far what more snail I say to sweeten words of lare-well, which must have a bitter tasted. If I have taught you any great Religious Truths, or roused therewith Emotions that are good, apply them to your life, however humble or however high and wide; convert them into Deeds, that your superior Religion may appear in your superior Ind your Justice and your Charity, coming out in your housekeeping, and all manner of work. So when

Is run, some faithful eulogist may say, He sought not praise, and praise did overlook His unobtrusive merit; but his life, Sweet to himself, was exercised in Good, That shall survive his name and memory. Let not fondness for me, now heightened by my illness, and my absence too, blind your eyes to errors

which may be in my doctrine, which must be in my gressive Development of Religion among the leading life; I am content to serve by warning, where I Races of Mankind.' which may be in my doctrine, which must be in my life; I am content to serve by warning, where I cannot guide by example. Mortal, or entered on Immortal Life, still let me be your Minister, to serve, never your Master, to hinder and command. Do not stop where I could go no further, for, after so long teaching, I feel that I have just begun to learn, begun my work. 'No man can feed us always;' welcome, then, each wiser guide who points you out a better way. On earth, I shall not cease to be thankful for your Patience, which has borne with me so much and long; for your Sympathy, nearest when needed most, and the examples of noble Christian Life, which I have found in some of you, 'To whom is given."

tian Life, which I have found in some of 'To whom is given The joy that mixes man with Heaven: Who, rowing hard against the stream, See distant gates of Eden gleam, And never dream it is a dream; But hear, by secret transport led, Even in the charnels of the dead, The murmur of the Fountain-head: Who will accomplish High Desire, Bear and forbear, and never tire,—Like Stephen, an unquenched fire, As looking upward, full of graze, He prayed, and from a happy place God's glory smote him on the face!' they add to my joy; perhaps their re

glorious Human Creature, by greatly doing the common work of life, heedful of all the Charities, which are twice blest, both by their gifts and their forgiveness too. And the Infinite Perfection, the Cause and Providence of all that is, the Absolute

The soul that were them was the world's. It speaks Love, transcending the time and space it fills, our yet, and shall speak in pulpit and senate. Boston FATHER, and OUR MOTHER too, will bless you each will thank him for the unequalled munificence of his beyond your prayer, forever and forever. Bodily absent, though present still with you by the Immortal Part, so hopes and prays

Your Minister and Friend,

THEODORE PARKER. FREDERICKSTED, West-End, Santa Cruz, April 19, 1859.

DEATH OF THEODORE PARKER --- COM-MEMORATIVE MEETING AT MUSIC HALL, SUNDAY, JUNE 17, 1860.

SPEECH OF CHARLES M. ELLIS, ESQ. Friends: I must speak; but least of that of

from the time of his going to West Roxbury. Iu low its heavenly guidance. his last letter to me he writes: 'There has never been a day since I left home that I have not often thought of your father and his dear ones. He is one of my oldest friends. His is the last house I was meet to console and animate each other by the recolever in at home, except my own.' Again that trem- lection of his virtues. bling hand wrote; but the mortal eye of that friend, I have the feeling that every man's biography is at to try to pay tribute due to the friendship of so many phy. It is only what he tells of himself that come within; of the village church, with its silent finger and good candidate elsewhere. its little band; the Sabbath School; of Brook Farm, He whose voice will not be heard here again, could where we lived-its woods and fields, and stream of well afford to tell his experiences; they were all hongold and gems, dearer and fairer in the pictures which orable to him, and were part of the history of the the child, the boy daguerreotypes, than the poet or civil and religious liberty of his times. Theodore romancer can make them; of the old home-of the Parker was a son of the soil, charged with the strolls there; of the free communion with men of energy of New England, strong, eager, inquisitive of the past and the present there opened; and from later knowledge, of a diligence that never tired, upright, and fresher things, for they would lead to that of of a haughty independence, yet the gentlest of

frame swept along the avenues of Divinity Hall. I them; rapidly pushing his studies so far as to leave remember the manner of his early preaching. In few men qualified to sit as critics. He elected his that was shown what I always thought was the chief part of duty, or accepted nobly that assigned him element of his character and source of his power. in his rare constitution. Wonderful acquisition of He was often overcome by emotion; his utterance knowledge, a rapid wit that heard all, and welcomed choked; tears flowed; his frame shook. It was be- all that came, by seeing its bearing. Such was the yond what was natural, even at that age. He has largeness of his reception of facts, and his skill to told us that 'he preached only what he had himself employ them, that it looked as if he were some Presiexperienced.' Gigantic as his developed intellect be- dent of Council to whom a score of telegraphs were came-great as were the treasures of learning he dif- ever bringing in reports; and his information would fused-his greatest power was the native impulse of have been excessive, but for the noble use he made of ment and recovery, would furnish me new power.

Several times in my life has it happened that I have ing could express it. Though to the world they understanding, a logical method, a love for facts, a could express it.

physical and moral culture of the world-himself rear- can hardly ascribe to his mind the poetic element, the love of labor, self-reliance, absolute reverence for quoter of verses. A little more feeling of the poetic God and conscience—he surprised the world by the significance of his facts, would have disqualified him intellect that embraced, the will that moved it. But for some of his severer offices to his generation. The these only beat with the pulses of his mighty heart. old religions have a charm for most minds which it I do not wish to vindicate all. But as the dust of is a little uncanny to disturb. 'Tis sometimes a onesearth shall fall, this element will justify much that tion, shall we not leave them to decay without rude is questioned now. He did not believe in calling shocks? I remember that I found some harshness in black, white. Let time and truth judge his sayings. his treatment both of Greek and of Hebrew antiqui-What he spoke in love will live. Do you not re- ty, and sympathized with the pain of many good peomember how, in his discourse on Adams-when the ple in his auditory, whilst I acquitted him, of course building shook, and his voice was silenced as the of any wish to be flippant. He came at a time when ice and snow fell like an earthquake before the sun to the irresistible march of opinion, the forms still re labors of the long Indian summer of that life, the rap- attachment to the old, or with more vigorous logic, ture with which he hailed its closing act, summed up rejected them. 'T is objected to him that he scattered man going home to his God '? Is the wail of a true have been graceful; but it is vain to charge him with heart over powers perverted-the woe of him who perverting the opinions of the new generation. The speaks in the cause of Humanity and God, to those opinions of men are organic. Simply, those came to

friend, or a protest for religious freedom, or a plan for every cause of love and humanity, they would have a free church. Before the South Boston sermon, it suspected their opinions and suppressed them, and s was known who and what was coming in this young sunk into melancholy or malignity-a feeling of lone-Paul: 'I shall walk by God's light, and fear not.' mortality here; that he has so woven himself in these by his voice; perhaps not dreamed that one man never be left out of your annals. It will not be in could spread it so widely. But that simple Resolve, the seed of this Society, was dropped in faith that nor, in the State House, the proclamations of Govthat truth would prevail-the mover of it having a ernors, with their failing virtue-failing them at

is matter of discussion at this day whilst partisans de. temper and authentic record of these days will be fine their positions, priests their creeds, with a word read. The next generation will care little for the which covers it all, Vera pro gratis. If truth be start- chances of elections that govern Governors now; it ed, let old errors go.

ascended to the sublime heights of philosophy and re- story, fortified with exact anecdotes, precise with ligion; by thought and study made clear to the in- names and dates, what part was taken by each actor; tellect the truth that fired his soul, that 'God is in- who threw himself into the cause of humanity, and finite Perfection, Power, Wisdom, Justice, Love, and came to the rescue of civilization at a hard pinch, plainly showed it to the world. He saw and showed and who blocked its course. priests, and showed them to the world.

Calmly, and at length, alas with labor too great for hot a flame. It is so difficult, in evil times, to escape that failing frame, thinking death near, -as he said, this charge-for the faithful preacher most of all. up to his shoulders in his grave, -he reviewed his It was his merit, like Luther, Knox, and Latimer, work. He wished to live to round it off, hoping for and John Baptist, to speak tart truth, when that was the length of years and strength of his ancestors, but peremptory, and when there were few to say it. But ready to pass the golden gates to immortal life. His his sympathy for goodness was not less energetic work is fragmentary in relation to his idea, though One fault he had, he overestimated his friends, so much is in itself complete. He tells us, that after may well say it, and sometimes vexed them with the his discourse of Matters Pertaining to 'Religion,' he importunity of his good opinion, whilst they knew formed a plan, and prepared for the afternoon and eve-

Success! For fifteen years a free church. This

truth, embodied in labors for the dangerous, perish ing, criminal classes; for education, woman, rance, freedom, peace; its light thrown on the lives of our great men and heroes, put in volumes that will live with the English tongue; put into labors that now move and will move the American Church and State whilst they endure; set forth in a system of religion; a method of spiritual culture; shadowing scheme of ethics; containing almost the only fit at tempt to state the law of laws in the language. His thought, his labor, his life—these are success and brance will add to my joy; perhaps their remembrance will add to my delight in Heaven.

May you be faithful to your own Souls; train up your Sons and Daughters to lofty character, most glorious on earth! his mortal robes lie under the skies it for humble duty; and to far cathedral heights of of Italy. There let them repose, that pilgrims and thought, his labor, his life-these are success and excellence, build up the Being that you are, with Feelings, Thoughts and Actions, that become 'a glorious Human Creature,' by greatly doing the patriots of the Old World and the New may go to a

will thank him for the unequalled munificence of his charity; the Herculean labors of his ministry; the unsullied purity of his life. May she grow to see and live by his truth! last to have a just pride in being the home of this spiritual Columbus; forget his errors. Men may raise monuments of stone; they will frame memorials more during in adamantine speech; but he who stood here above the world's fading honors, and his labors will outlast them all.

Our best tribute, here in the presence of the living spirit, the fittest in his sight, and the most lasting, will be the quiet vow not to falter in his work, and, as we may, in Church, or Court, or State, or common which my heart is full. I knew Mr. Parker well life, to keep in sight the light he showed us, and fol-

> SPEECH OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. At the death of a good and admirable person, w

the first to welcome him there and here, was not to his own expense. He furnishes not only the facts but read the written words. Would that I could venture the report. I mean that all biography is autobiograyears. But the day of his first illness, and that of his to be known and believed. In Plutarch's lives of death, the very hymn he chose, which we have just Alexander and Pericles, you have the secret whispers sung, open such recent sorrows and quick associa- of their confidence to their lovers and trusty friends. tions, that I must turn away from old memories of For, it was each report of this kind that impressed his house at Spring street, over which the pines those to whom it was told in a manner to secure its were always whispering; his library there, where being told everywhere to the best, to those who speak that great soul was trained, mastering tools where- with authority to their own times, and therefore t with to do the work of the world, and the fair gar- ours. For the political rule is a cosmical rule, that den on which it looked; of his love for all without, if a man is not strong in his own district, he is not a

which I could not speak.

I remember, even before that, how his stalwart with decided opinions and plenty of power to state stripping them of traditional lustres. He had a ed in schools not the costliest, but the best-taught though his scholarship had made him a reader and f Spring-he wished it so with the character he was tained by the most advanced sects showed loose and ng-with what joy he reviewed the glorious lifeless, and he, with something less of affectionate that Saxon sentence, 'the great loud No of an old too many illusions. Perhaps more tenderness would who smite what they might save-to be condemned? him who found themselves expressed by him. And The Resolve that Theodore Parker should have a had they not met this enlightened mind, in which chance to be heard was more than the word of a they beheld their own opinions combined with zeal in preacher, who had said: 'God still lives; man has liness and hostility to what was reckoned respectable. ost none of his high nature'; and in his parable of 'T is plain to me that he has achieved a historic im-It was thought that the new truth would be spread few years into the history of Boston, that he can year or two before, in a little book now forgotten, critical moments-that the coming generations will shown how it was the basis of all true art, criticism, so-First-We may be content to leave almost all that or in Legislative Committee Rooms, that the true will care little for fine gentlemen who behaved shab-Next-Let us look at what he created and did. He bily, but it will read very intelligently in his rough

how, historically and by nature, man grows in the The vice charged against America is the want of light of love, and has his eyes opened to spiritual sincerity in leading men. It does not lie at his door. truth, as flowers beneath the sun. He took Truth He never kept back the truth, for fear to make as from books and scholars, Religion from the temples and enemy. But, on the other hand, it was complained that he was bitter and harsh, that his zeal burned with too ning of his days, to show the 'History of the Pro- was capable, it must be said, of the most unmeasured

all men in pulpits,—I cannot think of one rival,—
that the essence of Christianity is its practical morals;
it is there for use, or it is nothing; and if you combine it with sharp trading, or with ordinary city ambine it with sharp trading, or with ordinary city ambine it with sharp trading, or with ordinary city ambitions to gloze over municipal corruptions, or private intemperance, or auccessful fraud, or immoral politics, or unjust wars, or the cheating of Indians, or the robbery of frontier nations, or leaving your principles at home to follow on the high seas or in Burope a supple complaisance to tyrants,—it is a hypocrisy, and the truth is not in you; and no love of religious music, or of dreams of Swedenborg, or praise of John Wesley, or of Jeremy Taylor, can save you from the Satan which you are.

His ministry fell on a political crisis also; on the rears when Southern alsvery broke over its old banks.

years when Southern slavery broke over its old banks, made new and vast pretensions, and wrung from the weakness or treachery of Northern people fatal concessions in the Fugitive Slave Bill and the repeal of ardly distrust of their own creed, when I see that if the Missouri Compromise. Two days bitter in the one comes from them to our Orthodox ranks, and be-memory of Boston, the days of the rendition of Sims lieves a great deal more than they do, he is treated and of Burns, made the occasion of his most remark-able discourses. He kept nothing back. In terrible side, and believe a very little less, and the whole earnest he denounced the public crime, and meted startled body join in begging the world not to think out to every official, high and low, his due portion.

By the incessant power of his statement, he made and held a party. It was his great service to freedom. He took away the reproach of silent consent pulpit. It was a live reality, and no sham. Whether that would otherwise have lain against the indignant tearing theological idols to pieces at West Roxbury, minority, by uttering in the hour and place wherein or here, battling with the every-day evils of the

of good powers who have so much sympathy, that eyesight failed him, with his old gesture, he passed they must be silent when they are not in sympathy. his loving hand and said, 'How sweet!' Like that If you don't agree with them, they know they only story he loved so much to tell, of Michael Angelo, injure the truth by speaking. Their faculties will when in the Roman palace Raphael was drawing his not play them true, and they do not wish to squeak figures too small, he sketched a colossal head of fit and gibber, and so they shut their mouths. I can readily forgive this, only not the other, the false ker criticised these other pulpits, not so much by centongue which makes worse appear the better cause. sure as by creation; by a pulpit proportioned to the There were, of course, multitudes to censure and de- hour—broad as humanity, frank as truth, stern as jusfame this truth-speaker. But the brave know the tice, and loving as Christ. brave. Fops, whether in hotels or churches, will Here is the place to judge him. In St. Paul's utter the fop's opinion, and faintly hope for the salvation of his soul; but his manly enemies, who despised the fops, honored him; and it is well known ask proof how full were the hands, how large the that his great hospitable heart was the sanctuary to heart, how many-sided the brain, of your teacherwhich every soul conscious of an earnest opinion listen, and you will hear it in the glad, triumphant came for sympathy—alike the brave slaveholder and certainty of your enemies, that you must close these the brave slave-rescuer. These met in the house of doors, since his place can never be filled! Do you this honest man—for every sound heart loves a responsible person, one who does not in generous company say generous things, and in mean company base things, but says one thing—now cheerfully, now indignantly-but always because he must, and because ing prophecy, to keep these doors open! Yes, he has he sees that, whether he speak or refrain from speech, left those accustomed to use weapons, and not merely this is said over him; and history, nature and all souls to hold up his hands. And not only among yourtestify to the same.

age, our loss were immense, and your place cannot be member, sayssupplied. But you will already be consoled in the 'I was a convert to Theodore Parker before I was tions of youth; whilst the polished and pleasant Yes, his diocese is broader than Massachusetts. traitors to human rights, with perverted learning and His influence extends very far outside these walls. disgraced graces, rot and are forgotten with their Every pulpit in Boston is freer and more real to-day double tongue saying all that is sordid for the cor-because of the existence of this. The fan of his exruption of man.

the importance of his name and influence, are the most sickly and timid soul under yonder steeple, hide-verdict of his country to his virtues. We have few bound in days and forms and beggarly Jewish elesuch men to lose; amiable and blameless at home, ments, little dreams how ten times worse and narfeared abroad as the standard-bearer of liberty, taking all the duties he could grasp, and more, refusing to spare himself, he has gone down in early glory to his grave, to be a living and enlarging power, wherever great object of punishment, the prevention of crime, learning, wit, honest valor and independence are more completely obtained. Hastings was acquitted, but

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

teacher dared to speak, and no more. It is only two ties; still, that Boston is nobler, purer, braver, more seemed solid as the ground, they only floated on its rapid eye for their historic relations, and a skill in or three times in our lives that we pause in telling the loving, more Christian to-day, is due more to him than whole merit of a friend, from fear of being thought to all the pulpits that vex her Sabbath air. He raised Born on soil sacred to freedom-of stock culled in sprightly fancy, and often amused himself with flatterers. What the world thinks easily done, it be- the level of sermons intellectually and morally England, and trained for two centuries in the best throwing his meaning into pretty apologues; yet we lieves; all beyond is put down to fiction. I find my- Other men were compelled to grow in manly thought self hesitating to speak just all I think of THEODORE and Christian morals in very self-defence. The dron-PARKER, lest those who did not know him should sup- ing routine of dead metaphysics or dainty morals wa pose I flatter, and thus I mar the massive simplicity gone. As Christ preached of the fall of the tower of

of his fame. fore finishing his fiftieth year. He said to me, startled city the news of some fresh crime against huyears ago, 'When I am fifty, I will leave the pulpit, manity-some slave hunt, or wicked court, or profinish the great works that he planned! Some speak tormented before their time! of his death as early; but he died in good old age, if Men say he erred on that great question of our ROME. God granted him life long enough to see of our souls. I have that Bible now, and shall ever the labor of his hands. He planted broadly, and lived prize it most highly.' to gather a rich, ripe harvest. His life, too, was an How direct and frank his style-just level to the harmonious whole :-

Among the tasks of real life, he wrought Upon the plan that pleased his childish thought.' The very last page those busy fingers ever wrote sion on me.' 'A little boy in petticoats, in my fourth since he came to the city-every year a step year, my father sent me from the field home.' A spotted tortoise, in shallow water, at the foot of a rhodora, caught his sight, and he lifted his stick to you in the dark and without a guide." '

Unitarian divines, manly and Christian lips spoke to calculating and prudent bigotry of our times.

culogies on those he esteemed, especially if he had his opinion, and not, necessarily, absolute truth. But any jealousy that they did not stand with the Boston it is always safe and wise for honest and earnest men public as highly as they ought. His commanding to seek for truth everywhere and at all hazards. The merit as a reformer is this, that he insisted beyond results, if not wholly and only good, are yet the best

just.

Standing in these old ways, I cannot but

these outrages were done, the stern protest.

But whilst I praise this frank speaker, I have no parrot tune: ever fresh from the heart of God, as these wish to accuse the silence of others. There are men flowers, these lillies—the last flower over which, when

selves. From another city, I received a letter, full of Ah, my brave brother! it seems as if, in a frivolous deep feeling, and the writer, an orthodox church-

transfer of your genius, knowing well that the nature of the world will affirm to all men, in all times, that which for twenty-five years you valiantly spoke; that the winds of Italy murmur the same truth over your grave; the winds of America over these bereaved passing on the empty and rotten pretensions of churches and churchmen, which I learned earliest streets; that the sea which bore your mourners home and more than from any other, from Theodore Parker. He has my love, my respect, my admiration.

artion of man.

The sudden and singular eminence of Mr. Parker,
Our whole city is fresher to-day because of him. The tyranny and injustice were condemned wherever English was spoken.' So we may say of Boston and Theod Parker. Grant that few adopted his extreme the The lesson of this desk is Truth! That your brave logical views-that not many sympathized in his poli-Siloam the week before, and what men said of it, is Born on the 24th of August, 1810, he died just be- the streets of Jerusalem, so Parker rung through our and finish the great works I have planned.' God or- tituted official-till frightened audiences actually took dered it so! He has left this deak, and gone there to bond of their new elergymen that they should not be

we judge him by his work,-full of labors, if not of the place due to the Bible. Perhaps so. But Wilyears, -a long life crowded into few years; as Bacon liam Crafts, one of the bravest men who ever fled from says, 'Old in hours, for he lost no time.' Truly, he our vulture to Victoria, writes to a friend : 'When lost not an hour, from the early years when, in his the slave-hunters were on our track, and no other sweet, plain phrase, he tells us 'his father let the minister, except yourself, came to direct our attention baby pick up chips, drive the cows to pasture, and to the God of the oppressed. Mr. Parker came with carry nubs of corn to the oxen '-far on to the closing his wise counsel, and told us where and how to go; ment when, faint and dying, he sent us his bless- gave us money-but that was not all-he gave me ing and brave counsel last November, dated fitly from weapon to protect our liberties, and a Bible to guide

nation's ear! No man ever needed to read any one of his sentences twice to catch its meaning. None suspected that he thought other than he said, or more than he confessed.

Like all such men, he grew daily-never too old to tells the child's story, than which, he says, 'no event learn. Mark how closer to actual life, how much in my life has made so deep and lasting an impres- bolder in reform, are all his later sermons-especially

- ' forward, persevering to the last, From well to better,

There are men whom we measure by their times strike it, when 'a voice within said, "it is wrong." content and expecting to find them subdued to what I stood with lifted stick, in wonder at the new emo- they work in. They are the chameleons of circumtion, till rhodora and tortoise vanished from my sight. stance; they are Eolian harps, toned by the breez I hastened home, and asked my mother what it was that sweeps over them. There are others, who serve ciety, morals, laws and religion. But, of this Society: Theodore Parker in this Music Hall, in Fancuil Hall, that told me it was wrong. Wiping a tear with her as guide-posts and land-marks—we measure their apron, and taking me in her arms, she said, "Some times by them. Such was Theodore Parker. Heremen call it conscience; but I prefer to call it the voice after the critic will use him as a mete-wand, to mea of God in the soul of man. If you listen to it and ure the heart and civilization of Boston. Like the obey it, then it will speak clearer and clearer, and al- Englishman, a year or two ago, who suspected our ways guide you right. But if you turn a deaf ear or great historian could not move in the best circles of disobey, then it will fade out, little by little, and leave the city, when it dropped out that he did not know Theodore Parker, distant men guage us by our toler-Out of that tearful mother's arms grew your pulpit, ation and recognition of him. Such men are our Here in words-every day in the streets, by deeds, Nilometers; the harvest of the future is according to during a hard life, he repeated and obeyed her coun- the height that the flood of our love rises round them. Who cares now that Harvard vouchsafed him no Of that pulpit, its theology, and its treatment by honors! But history will save the fact to measure the

us two weeks ago. It is not for me, even if there Some speak of him as only a bitter critic and harsh were need, to touch on it. Born in that faith, and prophet. Pulpits and journals shelter their plain nurtured in similar maxims of the utmost liberty and speech in mentioning him under the example of what the duty of individual investigation and thought, I used they call his 'unsparing candor.' Do they feel that it to enter other paths. Mine is the old faith of New the strangeness of their free speech, their unusual England. On those points, he and I rarely talked. frankness, needs apology and example! But he was What he thought, I hardly know. For myself, stand- far other than a bitter critic; though thank God for ing beneath the Gospel rule of 'judging men by their every drop of that bitterness which came like a wholefruits,' I should have felt stronger in defending my some rebuke on the dead, saltless sea of American life own faith, could I have pointed to any preacher of it Thank God for every indignant protest, for every who as gently judged and as truly loved his fellow- Christian admonition that the Holy Spirit breathed men. As to doctrines, we both knew that 'the whole through those manly lips! But if he deserved any of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; single word, it was generous. Generosus Vir is the that, of course, a man's conception of truth is only description that leaps to the lip of every scholar. He monument!

was generous of money. Born on a New England farm, in those days when small incomings made ever dollar a matter of importance, he no sooner had co dollar a matter of supplement with open hands. Sig manue, wearing ambition of a great library era tempted him to close his ear to need. Go to Venigo or Vienna, to Frankfort or to Paris, and att refugees who have gone home, -when here friendles exiles but for him,—under whose roof they felt month home! One of our oldest and best teacher w me, that telling him once, in the cars, of a young la me, that terms are mathematical genius, who could read Laplace but whom narrow means debarred from the Unit - 'Let him enter,' said Theodore Parker; 'I will.

No sect, no special study, no one idea bounded h sympathy; but he was generous of judgment, who a common man would have found it hard to be Though he does not 'go down to dust without hi fame,' though Oxford and Germany sent him no sages of sympathy, still, no word of approbation in the old grand names of our land, no hos University or learned Academy, greeted his diligent, earnest life; men can confess that they we against his admission to scientific bodies for his idea feeling all the while that his brain could furnish his the Academy ;—and yet, thus ostracised, he was the most generous, more than just, interpreter of the m tives of those about him, and looked on while othe renped where he sowed, with most generous joy in their success. Patiently analyzing character and terly in marshalling facts, he stamped with generous justice the world's final judgment of Web now that the soreness of the battle is over, friend and foe allow it.

He was generous of labor, -- books never served to excuse him from any, the humblest work. Though hiving wisdom with each studious year, and passionately devoted to his desk, as truly as was said of Milton, 'the lowliest duties on himself he laid,' What drudgery of the street did that scholarly hand ever refuse? Who so often and constant as he in the trenches, when a slave case made our city a camp? Loving books, he had no jot of a scholar's indoler or timidity, but joined hands with labor everywhen Erasmus would have found him good company, and Melanethon got brave help over a Greek manuscr but the likeliest place to have found him in that an would have been at Zwingle's side, on the battle-field pierced with a score of fanatic spears. For, above a things, he was terribly in earnest. If I sought to paint him in one word, I should say he was always in I spoke once of his diligence, and we call him time

ess, unflagging, unresting. But they are common. place words, and poorly describe him. What we sually call diligence in educated men does not outdo, does not equal the day-laborer in ceaselessness of toi No scholar, not even the busiest, but loiters out from his weary books, and feels shamed by the hodman or life eat up and beguile one-half our time. Those or whose lips and motions hang crowds of busy idlers. submit to life-long discipline-almost every hour a esson. Those on whose tones float the most precious truth, disdain an effort. The table you write on is the fruit of more toilsome and thorough discipline than the brain of most who deem themselves acholars ever knew. Let us not cheat ourselves with words But no poor and greedy mechanic, no farm tenant on shares,' ever distanced this unresting brain. He brought into his study that conscientious, loving industry which six generations had handed down to him on the hard soil of Massachusetts. He loved work, and I doubt if any workman in our empire equalled him in thoroughness of preparation. Before he wrote his review of Prescott, he went conscientiously through all the printed histories of that period in three or four tongues. Before he ventured to paint for you the portrait of John Quincy Adams, he read every line Adams had ever printed, and all the attack upon him that could be found in public or private collections.

Fortunate man? he lived long enough to see the eves of the whole nation turned toward him as to a trusted teacher. Fortunate indeed, in a life so noble that even what was scorned from the pulpit, will surely become oracular from the tomb! Thrice fortunate he loved fame and future influence, that the leave which bear his thoughts to posterity are not freighted with words penned by sickly ambition or wrung from hunger-but with earnest thoughts on dangers that make the ground tremble under our feet, and the heavens black over our head-the only literature sure to live. Ambition says, 'I will write, and be famou 'Tis only a dainty tournament, a sham fight, forgotter when the smoke clears away. Real books are like Yorktown or Waterloo, whose cannon shook continents at the moment, and echo down the centurior Through such channels Parker poured his thought.

And true hearts leaped to his side. No man's brain ever made him warmer friends; no man's heart ever held them firmer. He loved to speak of how many hands he had, in every city, in every land, ready work for him. With royal serenity he levied on all. Vassal hearts multiplied the great chief's powers. And at home the gentlest and deepest love, saintly unequalled devotion, made every hour sunny, held of every care, and left him double liberty to work. God comfort that widowed heart!

Judge him by his friends. No man suffered anywhere, who did not feel sure of his sympathy. sick chambers, and by the side of suffering humanity, he kept his heart soft and young. No man lifted a hand anywhere for truth and right, who did not look on Theodore Parker as his fellow-laborer. When men hoped for the future, this desk was one stone on which they planted their feet. Where, more frequent than around his board, would you find men familiar with Europe's dungeons and the mobs of our own streets? Wherever the fugitive slave might worship, here was his Gibraltar. Over his mantel, however scantily furnished, in this city or elsewhere, you were sure to find a picture of Parker.

But he is gone! So certain was he of his death that in the still watches of the Italian night, he com forted the sickening hopes of those about him by whispering-

· I hear a voice you cannot hear, I see a hand you cannot see, Which beckons me away.

But where shall we stop? This empty desk! You may fill it, but where is he who called it into being! Who shall make it so emphatically the symbol of free thought? For most men to have stood here was sufficient credentials. Here the young knight earned his spurs. Around it has swelled and tossed the battle of Christian liberty. The debate, whether Thaodore Parker should speak in one place or preach in another, has been one of God's chief methods of tesching this land the lesson of what bigots style toleration, and freemen better call Christian liberty.

He has passed on-we linger. That other world grows more real to us, as friend after friend enters it. Soon more are there than on this side; soon our hearts are more than half there. God tenderly sunder the few ties that still bind us. So live that when called to join that other assembly, we shall feel we are only passing from an apprenticeship of thought and toil to broader fields and a higher teacher above.

The blessings of the poor are his laurels. Say that his words won doubt and murmur into trust in a loring God-let that be his record! Say that to the hatred and friendless, he was shield and buckler-is that be his epitaph! The glory of children is the fathers. When you voted 'that Theodore Parker should be heard in Boston,' God honored you. have you kept that pledge. In much labor and with many sacrifices he has laid the corner-stone. work is ended here. God calls you to put on the top stone. Let fearless lips and Christian lives be his

JUNI The NO UNIO

THE I The eightyean triumph v MEETING, in B FRAMINGHA with abhorren the achieveme let all who has and Republic would everth legitimately ' the solemn an may best pret triumph.
Special tra as heretofore. will be in att

FRANC WM. LI E. H. F HENRY CHARL GEO. W THE LAT Exercises i ty-Eighth C Sunday foren repletion in e men remaine lasting upwa sire to be pre as 8 o'clock; Among the zens, includir es and deno gathering suc and may be I character and labors and li The altar o was literally wreaths, box suspended a evergreen. variegated fi

some flower. floral tribute only surpasse The exerc the organ. by Rev. Joh by Charles selections [n the Alpine tion of the s by John R. Address by Fair Su Along In mur The t

the season;

boquets large

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Parker, the

But our For one Across to Our of And lin O, rest Too Thy bo Its lo With u

Here n Yet wh Or w While And 9. Address Benediction We are i report of th Yerrinton,

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also an ap of the en-to the cros the earth Resolve surances (this loss if and the re and while reavement that then elements trinsically still abide and refre lection, a the race.

A HY hymn, so pen of the found in Hymns,' This boo lections reached copied is permissionecdote of the R Parker a was with book.

but I n 6 CHRI O thou Who Sin to r And We look Whice Stumble Yet h

Yes! t!

one idea bounded his of judgment, where nd it hard to be so, to dust without his nany sent him mes of approbation from and, no honors from , greeted his brave, onfess that they voted bodies for his ideas ain could furnish ha strached, he was the nterpreter of the mooked on while others most generous joy in g character and mas mped with generous ent of Webster, and

tle is over, friend an ooks never served to bleat work. Though ious year, and pastruly as was said of n himself he laid." I that scholarly hand constant as he in the our city a camp? scholar's indo h labor everywhere good company, and Greek manuscript; and him in that age e, on the battle-field ears. For, above all est. If I sought to ay he was always in nd we call him tire-

they are commonbe him. What we men does not outdo censelessness of toil. but loiters out from d by the hodman or ur time. Those on owds of busy idlers, most every hour a at the most precious ole you write on is thorough discipline themselves scholars selves with words. nie, no farm tenant nresting brain. He eientious, loving inanded down to him ts. He loved work, our empire equalled of that period i ventured to paint y Adams, he read and all the attacks ablic or private col-

in a life so noble. e pulpit, will surence, that the leave y are not freighted ion or wrung from ts on dangers that our feet, and the only literature sure te, and be famous, am fight, forgotten teal books are like nnon shook contiwn the centuries red his thought. . No man's brain man's heart ever eak of how many ery land, ready to y he levied on all. t chief's powers. pest love, saintly, ur sunny, held off rty to work. God

toward him as to a

nis sympathy. affering humanity, No man lifted 1 who did not look -laborer. When was one stone on ere, more frequent find men familiar mobs of our own ve might worship, mantel, however sewhere, you were s he of his death,

an night, he com-

stay; ee, iy.' mpty desk! You led it into being? the symbol of fre ood here was sufng knight earned d tossed the battle whether Theodore reach in another, iods of teaching s style toleration, erty. That other world

r friend enters it. ; soon our hearts derly sunders the hat when called all feel we are of thought and cher above surels. Say that to trust in a lov-Say that to the children is the Theodore Parket alabor and with rner-stone. His o put on the topian lives be his

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, JUNE 22, 1860.

THE INSURRECTION OF 1776!

The cighty-fifth anniversary of this great Ameri-

FRANCIS JACKSON,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
HENRY O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
GEO. W. STACY,

THE LATE REV. THEODORE PARKER. Exercises in commemoration of the death of the late Rev. THEODORE PARKER were held by the Twente-Eighth Congregational Society, in Music Hall, Sunday forenoon. The capacious hall was crowded to repletion in every part, and hundreds of men and wonen remained standing through the entire services. listing upwards of two hours. So great was the de-size to be present, that people went to the hall as early as 8 o'clock; and by half-past 9 the hall was filled. Among the congregation were many well known citizens, including hundreds who belong to other churches and denominations. Taken altogether, it was a esthering such as is not often witnessed in Boston, and may be regarded as a testimonial of no common character and significance to the memory, the talents, hors and life of the distinguished deceased.

The altar at which Mr. Parker was wont to preach was literally covered with flowers in the form of wreaths, bouquets, &c. In front of the altar was aspended a cross, composed of white flowers and evergreen. On each side were numerous wreaths of variegated flowers, the rarcet and most beautiful of the season; and upon the top at each wing were boquets large in size, and placed in vases. Upon the velvet, side of the Bible, was the favorite of Mr. Parker, the Lilly of the Valley, a humble but handsome flower. The whole desk was radiant with these foral tributes, while the fragrance they exhaled was only surpassed by their surpassingly regal hues.

the organ. 2. Chant from 139th Psalm. 3. Prayer by Rev. John L. Russell, of Hingham. 4. Address by Charles M. Ellis, Esq. 5. Hymn. 6. Reading selections [made by Mr. Parker himself while among the Alpine mountains in September last, in anticipation of the sad event! from the Beatitudes and Psalms, by John R. Manley, Secretary of the Society. 7. Address by Ralph Waldo Emerson. 8. The following ORIGINAL ODE.

BY FRANKLIN B. SANBORN. Fair Summer glides, with face serene, Along the quickening earth to-day;

In murmuring woods and pastures green The thrush and sparrow carol gay. But ours must be the song of wo. And tears and wintry gloom are ours, or one brave heart that lies below The tender grass and laughing flowers.

Across the melancholy wave
Our constant thought flies swiftly there,
And lingers hovering round his grave,
Amid the fragrant Tuscan air.

O, rest in peace! from labors rest! Too long thy blest release we weep; Thy body sleeps in Earth's kind breast, Its loftier way thy soul doth keep. With us, with us thy memory dwells,

Yet what can check our sorrow here? ove and Reverence force the tear

And Truth and Freedom mourn for thee? 9. Address by Wendell Phillips. 10. Hymn. 11.

We are indebted to the Boston Atlas & Bee for a full report of the proceedings, made for that paper by Mr. Yerrinton, and published in its Monday's edition.

At the meeting of the 'Friends of Human rogress, held at Waterloo, New York, on the 1st, 2nd, and 3d of June, the following resolutions were Resolved, That in the death of Theodore Parker,

have this day to mourn the loss of a true and tried, a wise and noble man—one greatly distinguished for clear, comprehensive insights; bold, uncompromising, powerful uttrannee of the truths of absolute religion and the laws of human welfare, and also for his warm catholic philanthropies, embracing in their regards all markind, and his high unwavering loyalty to Truth,

Resolved, That the solemn imprecations by leading religionists of this land, of evil upon the head of Theo-ore Parker during his active life, their exultation boasted triumph over his prostration and removal. astrate afresh the hypocritical character, the bitter and sorceries of the prevailing popular region, are of a kind and piece with the fierce intoler-lines and bloody inflictions of 'the middle ages,' and is an apt, significant expression, in modern dialect, f the envenomed bigotry and hate that nailed Jesus othe cross, and shouted 'Away with this fellow from

Resolved, That as a meeting, we hereby tender assurances of our warm sympathy to those upon whom this loss falls most heavily—the family of our brother, and the religious society wont to listen to his words—and while we condole deeply with them in their be-reavement and sadness, we would yet remind them that there is consolation amid this sorrow, that the elements of character that shone in his person are intrinsically impershable and eternal that the voice ically imperishable and eternal, that the voice abides untouched of death, to enrich, quicken and refresh, and that his name and history, far enough from empty or fruitless, are vital to all mankind, and must live henceforth proposette. eforth unforgotten in the human recolon, as of a high prophet and signal benefactor to

A HYMN OF THEODORE PARKER .- The following hymn, says the New York Eccaing Post, is from the pen of the late Rev. Theodore Parker, and may be found in the Rev. Samuel Longfellow's Book of Hymns, published by Ticknor & Fields, of Boston. This book has been pronounced 'one of the best collections of the Post of th lections of sacred poetry extant, and has already reached its tenth edition. Some of its hymns were topied into the Rev. Mr. Becher's hymn-book by Permission of the Rev. Mr. Longfellow; and a little ancedure one. anecdote connected with the procurement of this hymn of the Rev. Mr. Parker's will not be out of place. It seems that when Mr. Longfellow applied for it, Mr. Parker at first declined (knowing how unpopular he was with many people,) and said, "It will damn your book." Well," replied Mr. Longfellow, 'then let it, but I must have a hymn from you. 'So Mr. Parker wrote it, and his society adopted and used the book:

'CHRIST, THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE."

O thou great Friend to all the sons of men, Who once appeared in humblest guise below, Sin to rebuke, to break the captive's chain, And call the wretched forth from want and woe:

We look to thee! Thy truth is still the Light

Which guides the nations, groping on their way, tumbling and falling in disastrous night, Yet hoping ever for the perfect day. Yes! thou art still the Life; thou art the Way
The holicst know—Light, Life, and Way of heaven!
And they who dearest hope, and deepest pray,
Toil by the light, life, way, which thou hast given.

'ODIUM THEOLOGICUM.'

When Peter Simple was going to join the 'San- On the Report Providing for the Release of That glier' frigate, he learned from the other midshipmen, his companions, that Capt. Kearney, her command er, was a most inveterate and enormous liar, a report which he afterwards found perfectly correct, the course of Capt. Kearney's life being in accordance with these two incidents near its close.

It was Peter's turn to watch with his commander

The Congregationalist, (one of the most unscrupulous even of those papers which call themselves 'religious,') in an editorial article—June 15th—purporting to describe the character of Theodore Parker, with following receiving to the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

We think that—now that he is gone—the press, in general, by a not unnatural kindness of heart, has greatly over-estimated him in several particulars. He was a man of zeal in the acquisition of knowledge, and of great tenacity of purpose; having strong conceptions of certain favorite truths, and violent prejudices against certain theories which he did not accept. He was a great gormandizer of books, and, with tenacious memory, held his wide stores of accumulation from them always ready for effective use. But it never seemed to us that he was either a thorough scholar, or, in any just sense of the phrase, a learned man. His investigations seemed partial and incomplete, and he seldom gave any evidence of having exhausted any topic on which he touched. Moreover, he lacked that calm completeness of nature which is essential to the thorough mastery of the various departments of human knowledge. Many things he despised so utterly that he was wholly unfitted to know them, or topics related to them, either fairly or completely. His learning, moreover, was mostly at second hand; a re-issue of the crudities of German rationalism. He never sufficiently understood the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures to fit him for independent reitical judgment upon them: nor have we the evidence that he ever mastered the science of Ethics so far as to qualify him to speak, at first hand, of its sublime verities.

The acher fault and the one that afflicted us with

Ime verities.

The other fault, and the one that afflicted us with the most painful doubts in regard to the essential honesty of the man's own life, was that of a want of earnest and conscientious truth in speaking of others. He was more anxious to emphasize a strong period than to deal candidly with those whose opinions he was assailing. We have, more than once, known him to repeat an effective public appeal founded on some alleged fact in the conduct of others, after he had been notified of the falseness of his premises, and had admitted the justice of the correction.

Lies of this sort are such as the Congregationalist has long been accustomed to tell of Mr. Parker. But

Columbia is not, therefore, included in the terms of So spake the fiend, and with necessity, the Fugitive Slave clause. Whoever tries to extend the rugitive State clause over the District of Colum-

the Committee on the District of Columbia to report a Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade therein. To this request, Bingham, Dickenson, Giddings, Gree-indignation of the English Patriot. But in the present this request, Bingham, Dickenson, Chadings, Greeley, Horace Mann, Palfrey, Hudson, Wentworth,
Wilmot, voted NAY. While Albert G. Brown, (now
the slave-code and slave-trading Senator,) Butler, (of
Bully Brooks infamy,) Howell Cobb, Goggin, Rhett,
al Territories. That such Senators should also find

ty-four hundred dollars for the afflicted family of er, the only limit to their encroachments will be that John Brown. He has since fought a great battle of the public endurance.' for freedom and human rights, by submitting to imprisonment in Washington rather than become a witness before an illegal inquisition, created by the United States Senate. Before his discharge, he had

on the 12th inst. There was a full and interesting assembly. Pliny Earle of Leicester, Mass., President, made a neat and appropriate address, which was followed by other exercises, among which was a Poem, by John G. Whittier, read by S. G. Chase, nephew of the poet, the latter suffering somewhat of our friends who have them to spare will greatly from ill-health. We give it entire, in our poetical oblige by sending them to 'Liberator,' 221 Washing-department.

SPEECH OF SENATOR SUMNER.

deus Hyatt, in the U. S. Senate, June 15.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I welcome with pleasure the proposition for the discharge of Mr. Hyatt from his long incarceration in the filthy jail where he has been detained by the order of the Senate. But I am unwilling that this act of justice should be done to a much injured citizen, without for one moment expesing the injustice which he has received at your hands. The case, it seems to me, can be made as plain as a diagram. deus Hyatt, in the U. S. Senate, June 15.

ing to describe the character of Theodore Parker, gives the following repetition of its accustomed misstatements:—

'We think that—now that he is gone—the press, in general, by a not unnatural kindness of heart, has greatly over-estimated him in several particulars. He

Lies of this sort are such as the Congregationalist that has long been accustomed to tell of Mr. Parker. But the peculiar characteristics of Capt. Kearney were brought to my mind by the fact that this very article begins with saying—

'No man ever more deserved to have the truth told of him than Theodore Parker'—
and ends with saying—

'We have written this in the sorrowful conviction in alleged obstructions of the Fugitive Slave Bill—with regard to all which the Senate has no judicial powers. And yet, it has judicial powers.

of Wisconsin in alleged obstructions of the Fightwe Slave Bill—with regard to all which the Senate has no judicial powers. And yet, it has judicial powers in all these cases, precisely to the same extent that it has in the case of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. I know it is said that this power is necessary in aid of legislation. I deny the necessity. Convenient, at times, it may be, but necessary, neces. We do not drag the members of the Cabinet or the President to testify before a committee, in aid of legislation; but I say, without hositation, they can claim no immunity which does not belong equally to the humblest clitically which does not belong equally to the humbl

the dominion of that clause over the District of Columbia, exhibits only his own voluntary baseness, can have no pretence of constitutional obligation, out. Mason's Mason, and stamps himself a hound of special 'alacrity.'

This deed Abraham Lincoln, Republican candidate for President, has done! Here are the facts: Extract of a Bill introduced by Hon. Abraham Lincoln, in the U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 10, 1849. (See Congressional Globe, appendix, 2d Session 30th Congress, p. 212.)

30th Congress, p. 212.)

Section 5. That the municipal authorities of Washington and Georgetown, within their respective jurisdictional limits, are hereby empowered and REQUIRED to be innocent, honored and beloved in his neighborated provides action and efficient secure and descriptions. to provide active and efficient means to arrest and de-tiver up to their owners, ALL FUGITIVE SLAVES are scaping into said District.

Mr. Lincoln, in order to introduce this Bill, requested the House to reconsider the vote, instructing execution, 'I value not my own life a chip; but what

Bully Brooks infamy, Howell Cobb, Goggin, Rhett, Iverson, LINCOLN, Toombs, voted YEA.

Mr. Lincoln, in urging his request, said he had submitted his proposition to various leading citizens of the District of Columbia, who gave it their unanimous approval.

No wonder Mr. Lincoln is unwilling to make any opposition to the Fugitive Slave Bill! No wonder the Chicago Convention omitted that point in their Resolutions! Their standard-bearer has a worse Bill to answer for than even Mr. Mason.

All Territoriess. That such Senators should also find in the same Constitution at legislation, is not astonishing; but I am at a loss how any Senator who loves freedom can find any such right in the Constitution.

I say nothing now of the precedents of the British Parliament, for they are all more or less inapplicable. We live under a written Constitution, with certain specified powers, and all these are restrained by the 10th amendment, declaring that 'The powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to Resolutions! Their standard-bearer has a worse Bill egated to the United States, nor prohibited to the States respectively, or to the New York Tribune affirms that Mr. Lincoln stands on his record, and has no wish to alter any part of it. We wait to know of Republican journals where to draw that line which shall allow us all our indignation against Mason, and yet save the fame of their candidate.

W. P.

Sunner's Spech and Tharberts Hyart. One of the United States, are reserved to the United States are reserved to the States are reserved to the United States are reserved to the United States are reserved to the United States are reserved to

SUMNER'S SPEECH AND TRADDEUS HYATT. Our readers will see by an advertisement in another column, that Thaddeus Hyatt is never weary in good works. By his zeal and activity, he raised over twenty for hyadred dollars for the efficient family of the law, on the plea of their own dignity and powers.

United States Senate. Before his discharge, he had sent to Boston a copy of the advertisement referred to.

We do not doubt that his appeal will be promptly responded to.

ANNIVERSARY AT NEWPORT. The Friends' Boarding School Association held their second meeting is politic and just."—Lord Brougham's Speeches, vol. 4, since the organization of the Association at Newport

With these remarks I quit this question, anxious only that the recent usurpation of the Senate may not be drawn into a precedent hereafter.

WANTED-Copies of Liberator of June 8th. Any

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH-LETTER FROM

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH—LETTER FROM
JOSIAH QUINCY.

Mr. Sumner's speech has been published by the Congressional Republican Committee, in a pamphlet of 32 pages. The appendix contains the remarks made by Senator Chestnut of South Carolina, which Mr. Sumner, in accordance with his promise, has printed as an additional illustration of the Barbarism of Slavery. Mr. Sumner explains that in the language which he used, 'Mr. Chestnut refers to the assault upon Mr. Sumner with a bludgeon, on the floor of the Senate, by a Representative from Carolina, since dead, aided by snother Representative from Virginia, on account of which Mr. Sumner had been compelled to leave his seat vacant, and seek restoration of his health by travel. As Mr. Chestnut spoke, he was surrounded by the slave-masters of the Senate, who seemed to approve what he said. There was no call to order by the Chair, which was occupied at the time by Mr. Bigler of Pennsylvania.'

The appendix also contains the following letter from 'a venerable citizen, an ornament of our legislative halls at the beginning of the century, and now the oldest survivor of all who have ever been members of Congress':—

Roston, June 5, 1860.

Postox, June 5, 1860.

Dear Sir,—I have read a few abstracts from your noble speech, but must wait for it in pamphlet form, that I may read it is such type as eyes, in the eighty-ninth year of their age, will permit. But I have read enough to approve, and rejoice that you have been permitted, thus truly, fully, and faithfully, to expose the 'Barbarism' of Slavery on that very floor on which you were so cruelly and brutally stricken down by the spirit of that Barbarism.

I only hope that in an appendix you will preserve the 'era efficies of that insect that attempted to sting you. Remember that the value of amber is increased by the insect it preserves. Poston, June 5, 1860.

you. Remember time to by the insect it preserves.
Yours, very truly,
JOSIAH QUINCY.

So the South Carolina Senator goes down to posterity as a preserved Chestnut. - Boston Atlas.

A correspondent of the Boston Traveller, who had A correspondent of the Boston Traveller, who has the pleasure of hearing the great and masterly speech of Mr. Sumner, thus speaks of it:—'The four hours which we listened to him can never pass from our memory. An arraignment of slavery so exhaustive has never before been made in our history, and it will supersede the necessity of another. Hereafter, when Near Mr. Summer, throughout his speech, sat his col-league, Gen. Wilson, also Mr. Burlingame and Owen Lovejoy; and had any Southern member attempted a repetition of the Brooks assault, he would have found in either of them a foeman worthy of his steel."

SENATOR MASON'S REPORT.

relating to the invasion of States, and the first states of Hyatt. Agreed to.

He also made a special report on the petition of the entirely left me, the night sweats deserted me, hope once more elated my depressed spirits, and soon I had recommending the return of the petition to the measurement of the petition of the petit

Mr. Mason, from the same committee, made a report discharging Hyatt from custody.

Mr. Sumner welcomed with pleasure the release of Mr. Hyatt from a filthy jail, but could not refrain from commenting on the action of the Senate. Mr. Mason had derived precedents for the committee from the House, which had inquisitorial powers. The Senate had no such power. He argued at length against the action of the Senate being hereafter regarded as a precedent.

The resolution for Hyatt's discharge was agreed to.

The resolution for Hyatt's discharge was agreed to.

ART MATTERS. Since the illness of the late Rev. Theodore Parker began to forbid the hope of his recovery, several of our sculptors have been engaged in preserving for us his lineaments. Mr. William W. Story, it is generally known, executed a marble bust of Mr. Parker, in Italy, which has not yet reached this country, and a lady of our city is said to have sometime ago begun to model one which promised to be very successful, but which remains unfinished. It is by a statuette bust, however, that the larger numbe very successful, but which remains unfinished. It is by a statuette bust, however, that the larger number of Mr. Parker's friends would probably prefer to remember his features. Mr. Jas. A. Jackson's is already before the public; and we have had an opportunity to see another just finished by Miss Marguerite F. Foley, which has received the highest encomiums from the intimate associates of Mr. Parker. The likeness is, to our eye, the most just and striking of any portrait of him that we have seen, and the expression. portrait of him that we have seen, and the expression, chosen out of the many aspects of the original face, is that, we think, which will, more than any other, afford general satisfaction to his friends. Miss Foley has algeneral satisfaction to his friends. Miss Foley has al-ready won a reputation unrivalled in this country, as an artist in cameos; and she has carried into this work the same just perception of character, which have characterized her other portraits, among which, by the way, has been one of Mr. Parker, taken dur-ing his lifetime. Copies of the bust, we learn, will be for sale in a few days. So far as we are aware, all the activity in this direction is in placificant. the activity in this direction is in plastic art; we do not hear that any of our painters are engaged upon a portrait of Mr. Parker.—Boston Atlas.

HELPER'S 'IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH. Enlarged Edition. One hundred and fortieth thousand. New York : A. B. Burdick, 145 Nassan St.

It is delightful to witness the success of this book, of the country, each one of them, with a copy of one of the most important that has been written in our this, time. Success in being bought and read is all that THE GREAT SPEECH OF THE COUNTRY! could be hoped for it at once. But wherever read, it must make its mark, hastening, in one way or another, the great struggle that is to overthrow slave-ry. The hundred and forty thousands, widely seat-ry. tered, and many of them among the non-slaveholding Southrons for whom the book was written, are now rminating and springing up. And the next great and startling event in the decline and fail of slavery, of which we may hear at any moment, the next Movement (Brown, or of some other color,) towards taking the foot of the slaveholder off the neck of the Mass. slave, will give a mighty impulse to the growth of these shoots of liberty, and perhaps show a harvest already ripened for practical use in the cause of freedom.

This edition is considerably enlarged, not by a supplement, but by additions in various places through its course. I rejoice to say that these additions are not a dilution of the book, but that the portions added, and the preface to the enlarged edition, have the true masculine ring which distinguished the first edition. plement, but by additions in various places through its oth

The table of contents, alphabetically arranged, is a great improvement; but the other table of conrnts, stating the leading idea and the principal fea-principal features of the successive chapters, in their order, and in Likenesses in response to orders accompanied with the cash, viz: tures of the successive chapters, in their order, should have been retained. Both are useful. Let this be cared for in the next edition,

Many friends of freedom, old and new, will rejoice o see the features of the author, whose portrait embellishes the enlarged edition .- c. K. W.

Correction. Mr. Reprare objects that the state-Washington street. June 15.

litical Anti-Slavery meeting as copied into the Libera-A black man and woman, brother and sister,

nent of his views with reference to 'peaceful agita-

tion,' is not correctly made in the report of the Po

Seventeen slaves and a white man have been arrested at New Orleans, on suspicion of having set the fire which destroyed the steamers D. F. Kenner and B. F. Clark, and a barge, on the 30th ult.

RECEIPTS

Into the Treasury of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, from May 1, to June 1, 1860.

COLLECTIONS BY MISS S. HOLLEY.

Oakdale \$2, Sterling 3, Paxton 8 34, Tatnick 4 18, North Blackstone 4, N. T. Allen, West Newton, 5, friends 1, Barre 4 38, Petersham 6 48, Athol 2, South Gardner 4, Gardner 1 78, Hubbardston 3. Westminster 10, Holden 2 50, Baldwinville 1 63, Templeton 6 38, East Templeton 5 25, Fitzwilliam 5, Keene 12 63, Marlboro' 5 62, Dublin 4, Peterboro' 10, Milford 10, Amherst 2 31, Luther Melendy 3, Manchester 9, Weare 3, North Weare 6 25, Concord 11 25, Henniker 3, Bradford, 3 18;

BY S. MAY, JR.

Of Reuben H. Ober, to redeem pledge. 10 06

J. G. Dodge, West Cambridge, to redeem Pledges, Reading Anti-Slavery Society, by Mrs. E. H. Porter, Treasurer, Elijah Hobart, Hingham, to redeem pledge,

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer. Boston, June 1, 1860.

Among the many restoratives which nature has supplied to relieve the afflictions of humanity, there is no more favorite one for a certain class of diseases than the 'medicinal gum' of the Wild Cherry Tree; but however valuable it is, its power to heal, to soothe, to relieve, and to cure, is enhanced ten fold by scientific and judicious combination with other ingrecients, in themselves of equal worth. This happy mingling

· Combination and a form indeed

Of medicine known as DR.WISTAR'S BALSAM OF WILD CHERRY. Whose value in curing Coughs, Colds, Bronchitis, Whooping Cough, Croup, Asthma, Pulmonary Affection,

and Incipient Consumption, is inestimable. Strong Testimony From Benjamin Wheeler, Esq., Depot Master a South Royalton, Mass.

South Royalton, Jan. 4, 1860. Messis. Seth W. Fowle & Co., Boston: SENATOR MASON'S REPORT.

The ponderous Senator Mason has made a long report from the Committee on the Harper's Ferry Insurrection, but the labor of the mountain has produced only a ridiculous mouse. A more flagrant failure, after so sounding a manifesto, never before occurred; and if the haughty Virginian had a proper sense of his ludierous position, he would have been ashamed to make any report.

Mr. Doolittle presented a minority report, which was not read, and the committee was discharged.

Mr. Mason, from the same committee was discharged.

Mr. Mason, from finding my testimony to the many already given in favor of your Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry.

In the spring of 1858, I was most severely afflicted with a hard, dry cough, with its usual accompaniments of hight sweats, completely prostrating my nervous system, and producing such a debilitated state of health, that after trying medical aid to no purpose, I had given up all hopes of ever recovering, as had also my friends. At this stage of matters, I was prevailed upon through the influence of a neighbor to try Wistar's Balsam, though with no belief whatever in its truly wonderful curative properties, and before using two bottles, the effect was almost magical. My cough entirely left me, the night sweats deserted me, hope

morialists. Laid over.

Mr. Doolittle made a minority report, that the right of petition could not be denied to any one. Laid over.

Laid over.

Thus has this Balsam, as has often been found to by persons conversant with the above facts in this vicinity, literally snatched me from the yawning grave. You are at liberty to use this for the benefit of the affected.

Yery respectfully yours,

BENJ. WHEELER.

Prepared by S. W. FOWLE & CO., Boston, and for sale by druggists and dealers everywhere.

May 25th.

IF A CARD—The subscriber, a practical Chemist and Manufacturer of Chemical Preparations, French Cosmetics, Fine Perfumes, &c., for the past seventeen years, now offers (free of charge) to all who desire it, the Recipe and directions for making a simple Vegetable Balm, that will, in from two to eight days, remove Pimples. Blotches, Tan, Freckles, Sallowness, and all impurities and roughness of the Skin, leaving the same—as Nature intended it should be—soft, clear, smooth and beautiful. This is no humbug or catch-penny affair, and those who think it such will please not notice the advertisement. Those desiring the Recipe, with full instructions, directions and advice, will please call on or address (with return postage).

JAS. S. MARSHALL, Practical Chemist,

No. 32 City Buildings, New York.

New York, June 6.

TWM. LLOYD GARRISON will speak in the lower Town Hall, in Andover, Sunday, June 24, at half-past 14 and 5 o'clock, P. M.

FALL RIVER .- PARKER PILLSBURY and H FORD Douot.ass will speak in Fall River, Sunday, June 24, afternoon and evening. They will also speak in New Bedford, Tuesday evening, June 26.

MILFORD, N. H .- E. H. HEYWOOD will spe ak in Milford, N. H., Sunday, June 24. MILFORD, H. FORD DOUGLASS will speak in

Milford, (Mass.) Sunday, July 1st. DIED—In Cambridgeport, May 4, much lamented by friends and relatives, Mr. Charles A. Revaleon, aged 42. In this city, June 17, Theodore Parker, youngest child of John C. and Fanny S. Haynes, aged 1 year

40,000 COPIES OF CHARLES SUM-

and 11 months.

THADDEUS HYATT.
Washington Jail, June 13, 1860. Anti-Tobacco Publications. THE Publications of the American Anti-Tobacco Society are for sale at Nos. 5, 9 and 13, Corn-hill, Boston, and also at the Depository, Fitchburg,

Mass,
Among them are the following:
Six Tracts for Young America, or Boys.
A variety of Tracts for Raisers, Sellers, Smokers,
Chewers, and Snuffers.
A variety for Ladies, Clergymen, Physicians and

READ THIS.

JOHN BROWN, WM. LLOYD GARRISON. WENDELL PHILLIPS, THADDEUS HYATT.

Lithograph of THEODORE PARKER,

THADDEUS HYATT,

and meeting of the colored citizens of Boston was held on Monday evening last, which passed resolutions commending the recent speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, and also paying a tribute to the late Rev. Theodore Parker. Particulars next week.

Correction. Mr. Redpath objects that the state-

tf

A thing of beauty is a joy forever.'

THE LIGHT OF OUR HOME. fugitives from North Carolina, have passed through Lowell, Mass., within a day or two, on their way to Canada.

A BEAUTIFUL picture of a beautiful female child, drawn from life by Thomas M. Johnston, and photographed by Black & Batchelder. Price, One Dollar.

Sent by mail, free of postage, on receipt of the

Published by

C. H. BRAINARD,

322 Washington street,

at the store of Elliot & White.

June 15. 2wis

Is there any virtue in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

HAIR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.

TO THE ED'S OF EVANGELIST:—'My age is sixty.

One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the present quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Restorer, No. 1, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the hue appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.'

Rev. M. THACHER,

Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1855.

President J. I. EATON, LL. D., Union University,

Murfreesboro', Tennessee.

Madam-I would state, that come time last spring I found MY HAIR FALLING OFF. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer,' &c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding this irreg-ularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visi-ble, THE FALLING OFF OF HAIR CEASED, and my locks, which before were quite GRAY, WERE CHANGED TO BLACK. I do not consider that I have given it a fair BEAGE. I do not consider that I have given is also writing, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, viz., PRE-VENT THE HAIR FROM FALLING OFF, and to RESTORE GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR OBIGINAL COLOR.

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK,

'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsamum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manufactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired.'

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor ' Christian Advocate, Buffalo, N. Y.

'Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best
I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its
natural color, &c.

Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations.'

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor 'Christian Era,' Boston,

Having used numerous specifics to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylobal-samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entires entires in the second seco effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bald nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has re-gained the softness of my earlier years.'

Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. ' Guide to Holiness,' Boston 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from act-ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church, Attleboro', Mass.
I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Re-

'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's words that Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to directions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.' Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

N. Y.

'My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BE-COME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANT-LY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire,

'Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After

having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye. I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy in answering the queries of any you may refer to me.

[The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.] HAVTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionary to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y. In consequence of her long residence in aforenamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'—'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other remedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefit-ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.'

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

Brooklyn.
I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of it in curing my baldness and grayness.'

It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till see kills it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be pleased to insert adversisement, &c.

Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. ' Presbyterian Wit-

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Education R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y. 'Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to its original glossy and beautiful black.'

Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y.

'I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum have produced all the effects described in her advertisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance.'

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.'

Rev. M. C. KLING. Lewistown. Pennsylvania. 'It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth, although I did not attend to it as

Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H. 'We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicinity, a large quantity might be disposed of.'

We think that if these fail to convince, nothing less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell articles on which they make more profit than on these; always INSIST on having these.

These are the only preparations exported in any mantity to Europe. We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1 50 a bottle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 365 Broome Street, New York.' The Genuine has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a crim'inroflence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCY GOOD DEEALER lycop Oct 14.

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POETRY.

THE QUAKER ALUMNI.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER. Read at the recent annual Re-Union of Quaker Friend

as Nescport, R. I. From the well-springs of Hudson, the sen-cliffs

Maine,
Grave men. sober matrons, you gather again;
And with hearts warmer grown as your heads gro Play over the old game of going to school.

All your strifes and vexations, your whims and com plaints, (You are not saints yourselves, if the children of

All your petty self-seekings and rivalries done, Round the dear Alma Mater your hearts beat a

How widely soe'er you have strayed from the fold, Though your 'thee' has grown 'you,' and your dral

blue and gold,
To the old friendly speech and the garb's sober form,
Like the heart of Argyle to the tartan, you warm.

But, the first greeting over, you glance round the Your hearts call the roll, but they answer not all;

through the turf green above them the de hear: Name by name, in the silence, falls sad as a tear!

In love, let us trust, they were summoned so soon From the morning of life, while we toil through it

noon: They were frail like ourselves, they had needs like And they rest as we rest, in God's mercy alone.

Unchanged by our changes of spirit and fame, Past, now and henceforward, the Lord is the same Though we sink in the darkness, his arms break out

And in death as in life, he 's Father of all! We are older; our footsteps, so light in the play

We are older; our footsteps, so light in the play Of the far-away school-time, more slower to-day;—Here, a beard touched with frost, there, a bald shining crown,
And beneath the cap's border gray mingles with

But faith should be cheerful, and trust should be And our follies and sins, not our years, make us sad

Should the heart closer shut as the bonnet grows prim. And the face grow in length as the hat grows in brim? Life is brief, duty grave; but, with rain-folded wings Of yesterday's sunshine, the grateful heart sings; And we of all people have reason to pay The tribute of thanks, and rejoice on our way:

For the counsels that turned from the follies of youth;
For the beauty of patience, the witness of truth;

edge;
For the household's restraint, and the discipline's hedge;

For the lessons of kindness vouchsafed to the least Bringing hope to the poor, lending strength to the frai In the lanes of the city, the slave-hut and jail;

For a womanhood higher and holier, by all Her knowledge of good, than was Eve ere her fall-Whose task-work of duty moves lightly as play, Serene as the moon-light, and warm as the day;

And, yet more, for the faith which embraces the whole Of the creeds of the ages, the life and the soul, Wherein letter and spirit the same channel run, And man has not severed what God has made one; For a sense of the goodness revealed everywhere.

As sunshine, impartial and free as the air For a trust in humanity, Heathen or Jew, And a hope for all darkness the light shineth through Who scoffs at our birthright? The words of the seers

And the songs of the bards in the twilight of years, And the fore-gleams of wisdom in saint and in sage In prophet and priest, are our true heritage.

The word which the reason of Plato discerned, The truth as whose symbol the Mithra fire burned, The soul of the world which the Stoic but guessed, In the light universal, the Quaker confessed! No honors of war to our worthies belong: Their plain stem of life never flower'd into song ;

But the fountains they opened still gush by the way And the world for their healing is better to-day. He who lies where the minster's groin'd arches curdown, To the tomb-crowded transept of England's renow

The glorious essayist, by genius enthron'd, Whose pen as a sceptre the Muses all own'd— Who through the world's pantheon walk'd in h

pride,
Setting new statues up, thrusting old ones aside,
And infection the pencil of history dipp'd,
To gild o'er or blacken each saint in his crypt—

How vainly he labor'd to sully with blame. The white bust of Penn, in the niche of his fame! f-will is self-wounding, perversity blind; On himself fell the stain for the Quaker design'd! For the sake of his true-hearted father before him;

For the sake of the dear Quaker mother that bo For the sake of his gifts, and the works that outlive And his brave words for freedom, we freely forgive

There are those who take note that our numbers are New Gibbons, who write our decline and our fall; But the Lord of the seed-field takes care of his own, And the world shall yet resp what our sowers have

The last of the sect to his fathers may go, Leaving only his coat for some Barnum to show; But the truth will outlive him, and broaden with

Till the false dies away, and the wrong disappears. Nothing fails of its end. Out of sight sinks the stone

In the deep sea of time; but the circles sweep on Till the low-rippled murmurs along the shores run, And the dark and dead waters leap glad in the sun Meanwhile, shall we learn, in our ease, to forget To the martyrs of Truth and of Freedom our debt? Hide their words out of sight, like the garb that they

And for Barclay's Apology offer one more?

Shall we fawn round the priestcraft that glutted the shears, And festoon'd the stocks with our grandfathers' ears? Talk of Woolman's unsoundness? count Penn here

And take Cotton Mather in place of George Fox? Make our preachers war-chaplains? quote Scripture

The hunted slave back for Onesimus' sake? Go to burning church-candles and chanting in choir And on the old meeting-house stick up a spire? No! the old paths we'll keep until better are shown

Credit good where we find it, abroad or our own; And while 'Lo here!' and 'Lo there!' the multitude call,
Be true to ourselves, and do justice to all!

The good round about us we need not refuse, Nor talk of our Zion as if we were Jews: But why shirk the badge which our fathers hav

Or beg the world's pardon for having been born? We need not pray over the Pharisee's prayer, Nor claim that our wisdom is Benjamin's share; Truth to us and to others is equal and one:

Shall we bottle the free air, or hoard up the sun? Well know we our birthright may serve but to show How the meanest of weeds in the richest soil grow; But we need not disparage the good which we hold Though the vessels be earthen, the treasure is gold!

Enough and too much of the sect and the name; What matters our label, so truth be our an?

The creed may be wrong, but the life may be true,
And hearts beat the same under drab costs or blue

So the man be a man, let him worship at will. In Jerusalem's courts, or on Gerizim's hill!

When she makes up her jewels, what cares you good

For the Baptist of WAYLAND, the Quaker of BROWN And this green, favored island, so fresh and sea. blown, When she counts up the worthies her annals have

known,
Never waits for the pitiful gaugers of sect
To measure her love, and mete out her respect.

Three shades at this moment seem walking her strand, Each with head halo-crowned, and with palms in his hand: Wise Berkley, grave Hopkins, and, smiling serene On prelate and puritan, Channing is seen.

One holy name bearing, no longer they need; Credentials of party, and pass-words of creed; The new song they sing hath a three-fold accord, And they own one baptism, one faith, and one Lord

But the golden sands lessen! Occasions like these Glide swift into shadow, like sails on the seas; While we sport with the messes and pebbles ashore, They lessen and fade, and we see them no more. Forgive me, dear friends, if my vagrant thoughts

Like a school-boy's, who idles and plays with his Forgive the light measure, whose changes display The sunshine and rain of our brief April day.

There are moments in life when the lip and the eye Try the question of whether to smile or to cry;
And scenes and re-unions that prompt like our o
The tender in feeling, the playful in tone.

I, who never sat down with the boys and the girls, With your Austins and Slocumbs, your Cartlan and Earles,
By courtesy only permitted to lay
On your festival's altar my poor gift to-day—

I would joy in your joy; let me have a friend's part, In the warmth of your welcome of band and of heart; On your play-ground of boyhood unbend the brow's

And shift the old burdens our shoulders must bear. Long live the good school! giving out, year by year, Recruits to true manhood, and womanhood dear; Brave boys, modest maidens, in beauty sent forth, The living epistles and proofs of its worth!

In and out let the young life as steadily flow As in the broad Narragansett the tides come and go and its sons and its daughters, in prairie and town, Remember its honor, and guard its renown.

Not vainly the gift of its Founder was made; Not prayerless the stones of its corner was made; The blessing of Him whom in secret they sought, Has owned the good work which the fathers have

To Him be the glory forever !--we bear
To the Lord of the harvest our wheat with the tare.
What we lack in our work may He find in our will, And winnow in mercy the good from the ill!

THE LIBERATOR.

CRITICISM ON NON-RESISTANCE, AND REJOINDER. Having read the remarks of my friend Dr.

Mann, making exceptions to my plea for Non-Resistance in the Liberator of April 6th, I append to his article what I have to say by way of reply.-c. K. w. (4.) My friend here labors under a mistake. DR. MANN'S LETTER.

Whipple's essay upon the Non-Resistance principle. been censured therefor by Non-Resistance brethren I admire its clearness, its elevation of sentiment, its The whole of my article, but especially the latter porfidelity to principle. I doubt not that it will promote tion of it, will show that I have shown no slavish the essential aim of the writer, by imparting more subservience to 'the letter.' I did not quote, nor confidence in the power of love to overcome evil, and rely upon, one of the passages of Scripture here re am glad to have provoked him to the good work of ferred to Still, I think Mr. W. fails, as all argument must

fail, to prove the unlawfulness of resisting extreme rule as well as of its letter. He proposes to sacrifice cases (1) of wrong by whatsoever violence may be one savage to the welfare of the rest; to kill one of we are justly limited in self-defence, as in all transac- be prevented from teaching the rest not to kill each tions, to the use of means that are right, and that no other! He speaks of his duty to the other savages exigency can justify us in violating our settled con- and to himself, and drops the welfare of the assailing victions; and this is true, whether our convictions be savage quite out of sight, dropping at the same time founded on truth or error. A Sabbatarian, who be- his allegiance to the rule, (the best that he can find lieves that God requires abstinence from labor on the or conceive of,') the law of love to the injurer-the seventh or on the first day of the week, or the Bap- overcoming of his evil with good to him! This partist who believes immersion a Christian obligation, or ticular savage is the very one whom the true mission a Catholic who believes it a sin to eat flesh on Friday, ary is most concerned not to leave out of sight. If or a Non-Resistant who believes it better to be mur- they all need conversion and reformation, he needs dered than to kill the murderer, are all equally bound to obey their honest convictions. But I, who believe none of these things, am not bound by those rules, as far as the present emergency and the particular savuntil they shall be shown to be universally (2) ob- age in question are concerned, lays aside his own rule ligatory. I am indeed bound to use my best diligence and adopts the savage rule-the very one from which examine the reason of those principles which gain he proposes to convert the savages! This course the assent of any respectable portion of the world, seems to me at once a departure from duty and from and if, through negligence or perverseness, or even wisdom. In so far as the missionary lays aside his rule from lack of capacity, I fail to find the right way, and method of love, and adopts the savage rule and I must suffer the consequences, until I shall learn method, so far it seems to me he is faithless to his miswisdom from experience. At present, I can only fol- sionary work, and pulls down that which he had built. low the light which my limited vision allows me to Such a missionary might as well have stayed at home reach. I agree with Mr. W. in choosing Christianity (7.) I admit that to kill a man from the hasty imas my rule of life, because it is the best that I can pulse of self-defence is a very different thing, in point find or conceive of.' (3)

class described and contemplated by it is an 'extreme and each of them is a violation of the law of love. case.' The rule was made for all cases of that sort. It was only in this view that I spoke of the two acts the greater as well as the less. The thief is not ex- as identical. To kill your assailant is not, in any cused on account of his 'extreme case,' the coinci- sense, to overcome his evil with good. dence of great destitution on his part with the chance My friend here confounds things which I think h of stealing a larger sum than ever fell in his way be- ought to distinguish. The circumstances, that he is fore, great enough to enable him to leave off stealing acting 'in just self-defence, and also in defence of and commence an honest life! This is not the right justice,' do not authorize him to kill the assailant! way to commence an honest life. If honesty is the Retaliation is not an exercise of justice, but a deparright rule, it must control one's relation to a hundred ture from it. The man who receives a blow may have thousand dollars not less stringently than to half-a- been entirely in the right, up to that point; but a

(2.) I am not a legislator, but a subject, under the overcoming of evil with good, be the right rule of God's government. I, therefore, do not pretend to action,) he relinquishes his advantage, and puts him decide what is 'universally obligatory.' All I can do self also in the wrong. In his next sentence, my is to strive for conformity in my own heart and life to friend speaks of a blow which the unjust violence of the rule which I recognize as right and best; and, as the assailant 'made necessary.' There is no such far as possible, to help others to recognition of the necessity. This is one of the flimsy excuses, one of ing obedience to it. But when an intelligent person that we use to palliate our errors of conduct. The adopts this as his rule, I expect him to adhere to it. duellist is accustomed to say that, having been in-If this is the best rule on the whole, let it be used in sulted, he has no alternative but to send a challenge every individual case, and thus have a chance to show having been challenged, he has no alternative but to itself the best on the whole. When we are speaking fight. The sooner we clear our minds of such cant as of a rule of morals, it is absurd to say that though it this, the sooner shall we be able to see things as they is right and best in the great majority of cases, the are. It has been well said that insults are like coun very opposite rule will be right and best in 'extreme terfeit money; any body may offer them, but no one

A rule is established as my rule, by my perception give blessing for cursing, and a benefit for a blow; of its rectitude. I pretend not to claim for it the al- and the wrong position of our antagonist does not legiance of those who do not see it to be right and make us right in treating him otherwise than by the best. My rule, as I have said in the article above- law of love. mentioned, is the law of love. To me it seems self- (8.) I think it consists in both. The wish of th evident that this is the right method, and the best assailant to injure is one sin; his proceeding to actual method, of overcoming the evils of the world. I injury is another sin; the person assailed may have know it always tends to overcome them; and my as- been entirely in the right so far; but if he meets the surance of this is undiminished by the fact that it injurer with acts inconsistent with love to him, if he does not always succeed in overcoming them at once, returns the offered evil with anything but good, he or in a short specified time. God works by means, puts himself also in the wrong. and it is obviously a part of his plan to allow and re- I think my friend's use of the word 'justice' in quire time for those means to produce their natural this, and the preceding, and some following paraesult. While I use God's instruments, I am on his graphs, shows some remaining traces of that viciou side, and I need not fear the result of trusting my theology by which we were both misled in early life permanent welfare to their use. On the other hand, and which still shows in the tree what inclination was I am equally assured that violence tends to beget vio- forced upon the twig- I mean the habit of confoundlence, that injury excites to the infliction of counter ing vindictive retaliation with justice; of recognizing injury; and that therefore this is not the best rule, as real and unquestionable types of justice, hell fo nor a right rule, either for the whole of our lives or sinners in the next world, and the gallows for murfor any part of them. And this assurance is not derers in this, shaken by the fact that violence on the right side | Surely the precepts of Jesus, so beautifully illus sometimes overcomes violence on the wrong side. I trated by his life, would have brought forth more frait admit that the temptation to use it in a particular in- in the course of eighteen centuries, had they not been stance-'just this once'-is sometimes very great. I so systematically misinterpreted and perverted by the believe, no less, that the use of injurious force, for an priesthood. end however good, is always an error, a blunder. It Jesus showed the practical bearing of his own law is loss of faith. It is an assumption that God is to be of love when he said to Peter, in regard to a case of helped by using the devil's wespons.

isnity, the law of love, as his rule. I must therefore using the sword, even to the death of the assailanthold him to it. It is now for him to show why he upon acting in direct opposition to this injunction and takes the responsibility of departing from his accepted this example of Jesus-why does he represent himself rule, that which he recognizes as 'best,' and acting, as a follower of the law of love? Why does he not for a time, upon the very opposite rule, merely be-cause of the occurrence of 'an extreme case.' which Jesus opposed?

But the principles of Christianity do not require literal conformity (4) to the recorded words of Christ. No one supposes this. A faithful follower of Christ's system, in its substance and spirit, would not think it incumbent to offer his cheek to the smiter, or to g two miles when unjustly compelled to go one, or to give a cloak to the robber who has already stolen a coat. 'Resist not evil,' and ' take no thought for the porrow, have a real meaning very different from their literal sense. Self-control, forgiveness, magna nimity, and confidence in divine protection, are what is meant. Every enlightened Christian understand this. Christianity, indeed, requires me to love m enemies, but it does not follow (5) that I must in n

and devote my life to their reformation; but if, ir the midst of my hopeful labors, one man, more incor rigible or more hungry than the others, should at tempt to kill me, my duty to the others as well as to nyself might compel me to slay him.(6)

'What,' says Mr. W., 'do the very thing which l censure in his conduct to me! Perpetrate a second wrong by way of redressing the first! Show that

am as ready to commit violence as he, when my sup

case kill, wound, or strike them. I might be moved

by Christian love to go among a tribe of canniba

posed advantage requires it! Mr. W. does not take into account how the differ ent circumstances of myself and my assailant modify and decide the moral nature of our respective acts. I do not 'do the very thing' which I censure in him. He kills me unjustly, and from wrong motives. I kill him in just self-defence, and also in defence of justice. This makes it a very different thing. (7) I do not ' perpetrate a second wrong by way of redressing the first.' The man who receives a blow, fatal or otherwise, which his own unjust violence made neces sarv, receives no wrong, and therefore the man who

gives it perpetrates no wrong.

The wrong of the slave consists not in his violence abstractly considered, but in the injustice of his vio lence (8)-in his invasion of the rights of another; but, if he kills in necessary defence of his own life, unjustly assailed by another, he does no wrong, since e invades no rights-for the murderer has no rights incompatible with another's right of self-defence.

Mr. W. asks, 'If the mere attempt fof the mur dererl to kill me showed wickedness in him, what character does the actual killing him show in me?" I answer, it shows promptitude to prevent wickedness. Mr. W. does not make the proper distinction between the murderer's wicked attempt to kill, and the just man's righteous act of killing in necessary self-defence, and in defence of justice. To make this distinction is to answer the question.

have no where enjoined or recommended such literal conformity. Seeking always to adhere to the spirit of DEAR MR. GARRISON-I have read carefully Mr. this rule, I have so far disregarded its letter as to have

(5.) I think it does follow!

(6.) My friend here loses sight of the spirit of the it. I agree with Mr. W. that them (when the 'extreme case' arises) lest he should

of guilt, from killing him by a purposed and unproassault. I have never (1.) When the right rule in morals is once established. In both these cases, however, a man is violentished, it avails nothing to plead that a case of the ly killed. In this respect, the two deeds are the same,

soon as he returns the blow, (if the law of love, and le, adoption of it as their rule, and unflinch- the self-contradictory, self-refuting forms of speech is obliged to take them. It is always at our option to

elped by using the devil's weapons.

(3.) My friend agrees with me in choosing Chrissword into the sheath!' If my friend insists upon

in God's world, under his laws.' I assume that the arms, and are free. Those of Virginia are non-re ong he shall remain.' No one can do that.

take advantage of that admission to commit unjusti- pluck to combine, and give notice that the next out-To decide 'where shall the line be rage should be retaliated. drawn' may be difficult, but I am not to forego that | Briefly, to sum up-I admit the obligation, in ac tious man will be careful to keep off the gressor. (11) doubtful ground, and only use his right in extreme I admit the excellency and perfection of Christ's and justifiable cases. But, when the apparently in- doctrine, but I deny that, fairly interpreted, it teaches evitable murder of himself, or family, or neighbor, non-resistance. can be obviated only by killing the murderer, he will I admit the obligation to love our neighbor as our A man attempted to cross the Niagara river at a

safe distance above the falls. He was accompanied Orkney Islander.) by a neighbor who was partly intoxicated, and whom I admit the sacredness of human life, and that he was kindly endeavoring to take home to his family. should not be taken, even from the guilty aggressor ger. The soher man, seeing no other chance of saving offender. either of their lives, pushed the drunkard overboard, I admit the danger of making unguarded concer and then, by using his utmost efforts, was barely able sions to the spirit of violence, and the difficulty of to save himself. This was unquestionably a case of making safe rules applicable to all cases. But this instifiable homicide.

story of a father and his two sons, who were let frugality.

down by a rope over the brink of a precipice to gath
I admit the obligation of every one to live up to the ices of the rocks. The father, who was below his sons, ble; but I deny the obligation of others to obey that on looking upwards, saw that the rope was about to rule until it can be proved of divine authority, or part near the brink, one of the strands being cut, and otherwise obligatory on all. rapidly untwisting towards another defective part. I assert that the attempt of an unjust aggressor t next above him, to cut the rope below, and save him- tual killing of him in necessary self-defence (and deself and brother. 'But,' replied the son, 'the rope fence of justice) is not wicked. feet below, while the other was drawn safely up. of God-except his love and our immortality. Here were suicide and parricide in the same act. But I assert that the 'voice of history' proves the wis how clearly noble and right!

his dwelling, massacred his family, and reserved him far as I can, my help. to suffer death by torture. It was the plan of the party, also, to surprise and massacre other families in the vicinity; but, while on their way, the prisoner their guard, and the massacre of several families pre- evil with good .- c. x. w. vented. (9)

From the first two of the above cases, I think Mr. W. must admit the possibility of justifiable homicide. So much admitted on the one hand, I am also ready to admit the difficulty of drawing a line to suit all not be taken except in self-defence, where life, or ected. The defects of this rule must be supplied by each individual's best light. I would not kill a perperson from blows not endangering life, but I should eel justified in saying myself or neighbor from death And his claims were urgently pressed before the Conor slavery by means endangering the life of the ag-

Perhaps, by sufficient diligence, an exact rule may be found or framed, applicable to all cases of the kind; but when propulated it must be demonstrated to Mr. Seward's own expectations were hardly less but, when promulgated, it must be demonstrated to strength from the insufficiency of other rules, till his is demonstrated to be the right one.

the grave objections to its practical application in those cases where extreme wrong can be repelled rival. only by smiting down the offender.

It is remarkable that the essay to which I refer ausumptuous interference with God's power and prerog-W. does not deny the right to restrain a violent man's can slave. W. does not deny the right to restain a violet he has liberty, or to take from him the sword which he has reach its utmost culmination. Since his return from us all that we possess.

The only claim to superior consideration for human life above other possessions is because of its superior value to most possessions. But mere life is not the reputation, is to many of more value. Many people value liberty more than life. For myself, I should Hyatt. think the liberty of two or three slaves cheaply pur-

I think that Christ did not consider this mortal reason of expediency, and not of principle.

of good for his evil, (a law, be it observed, to which decency or self-respect? we both have declared our allegiance,) his decision in regard to the first and third of those cases shows only sent, with no opposition of feeling.)

(10.) In all this discussion, I have insisted less on

In such a case, the self-defence (and defence of justice) cannot be shown to have 'taken the responsi-bility of thrusting his brother from the sphere which history?' To me, the voice of history answers, trum-God assigned him'-or, that he has 'rashly and pet-tongued, against his theory. All nations who wrongfully assumed an authority never committed to have enjoyed liberty have purchased it with blood. him'-or, that he has 'rebelled against God's rule, Tyrants have never yielded to any argument but the and demanded a better destiny than that afforded us sword. The blacks of Hayti and Santa Cruz took up man who prevents murder, by slaying the assailant, sistants, and are slaves. Let them adopt Mr. Whipacts from a divine impulse. The power, and the will, ple's plan, and refuse either to work or to fight, and and the moral instinct in behalf of justice, were given they would be made dogs' meat and carrion; but, let him by God for this very purpose. He is God's in-strument. He does not 'invade the Power who a Pen Blacksmith, and like them beat out their overplaced us here, nor interfere with His decision how sers' brains, and lift up the standard of freedom, and a nation would be born in a day-at cheap cost. The ang he shall remain.' No one can do that.

It is no fair argument against the admission that repeated assassin demonstrations by Southerners in nomicide may sometimes be justifiable, that some may Congress would cease, if Northern members had the

which is a clear right and duty now, because a dif- complishing right ends, to use only right means, but forence of circumstances would make the right and I insist that it is right to protect the life of the innoduty less clear. If the line be difficult to define, a cent by sacrificing, if necessary, the life of the ag-

not hesitate. A hundred anecdotes might illustrate selves, but say that this is compatible with killing cases of intentional homicide clearly justifiable. I him, to prevent his doing worse injury. I would (or select two, which also show that killing does not should) kill myself, if by that means only I could necessarly imply malice, but may be compatible with avoid killing the innocent-(for instance, if about to fall into a fit of canine madness in the presence of unprotected children, or if in the situation of the

In the middle of the stream, the intoxicated person except where the lives or equally essential interests insisted on possession of the oars, and by his obsti- of others absolutely require it. But the life or liberty nate interference the boat was rapidly swept towards or chastity of the innocent should be effectually prothe falls, into a position of the most imminent dan- tected, and, if need be, by the destruction of the

danger and difficulty no more forbid fighting in a In an account of the Orkney islands, there is a clear cause, than the danger of avarice forbids a wise er the eggs which the sea-birds deposite in the crev- rule which his faith or his reason accepts as inviola-

Being unable to detach himself, he called to his son, kill me, shows great wickedness in him; but the ac-

will not hold us two.' . Then cut the rope above I assert that life, although the gift of God, is no you, and let your brother be saved to comfort his therefore any more inviolable and inalicnable than any other.' The son did as directed, and, with his fa- other of his gifts, except in proportion to its value. ther, was dashed to pieces among the rocks a thousand It is in our power to alienate and forfeit all the gifts

dom of resistance to tyranny, even unto blood; and, I will add one more case, to me clearly justifiable, reasoning from the past, I would not advise the slaves but which Mr. W. must, on his principle, condemn. to mere non-obedience and non-resistance, but to In the 'Historical Collections of Ohio' is an account bloody blows, till their freedom shall be secured. In of one of the first settlers, who, with his family, was such a struggle, as in every other attitude of their surprised by a party of hostile Indians, who burned cause, the slaves shall have my sympathy, and, so Painesville, (O.) May 8, 1860.

(11.) My friend cannot possibly occupy a position contrived to loosen his bonds, and kill two of the and its opposite at the same moment. If he chooses most active of his captors, and make good his escape. to take the life of the aggressor, he must violate the By his timely warning, his neighbors were put upon rule of love to the aggressor, and of overcoming his

THE 'SACRIFICE' OF WM. H. SEWARD. The recent defeat of Gov. Seward at Chicago-a surprise to all, and a stunning disappointment to his especial admirers and friends-must be a source of cases. As a general rule, I should say that life should deep and bitter mortification to himself. His nomination had been long and quite generally expected. something equally precious, cannot otherwise be pro- His was the most prominent name of any before the country, within the ranks of the Republican party. He had been identified from the beginning with it son to protect my property from depredation, or my interests, and had come to be recognized as the almost authoritative expounder of its views and principles. vention by a strong array of ardent and determined friends, and with such indications of success, that almost up to the last moment, his nomination was

be the right one, before its authority can be acknowl- sanguine. He had played hard for the stake, and it be the right one, before its authority can be acknowledged. In the mean time, Mr. W's rule gains no largest bid it seemed possible to offer, and how could strength from the insufficiency of other rules. he well fail of the prize? In anticipation of the aus-This, Mr. W. has not even attempted to do. He picious result, he had retired, for the time being, from has shown the beauty, the sublimity, and, in some domestic retreat at Auburn the announcement. But sense, the expediency and excellency of the non-resistance principle; but he has not demonstrated its claim of inherent authority, nor sufficiently obviated another, and 'the distinguished son of New York' was thrust aside to make way for a more favored

But this defeat-must we not pronounce it, to borrow the Senator's own words, employed in reference sumes as a settled principle the inviolability of human life. This is the very assertion for which proof ciates, 'necessary and just'? For Wm. H. Sewar is demanded. To assume it as a self-evident truth is had also been sacrificing to 'the obscene god.' The to beg the whole question. Having taken this ground, the author proceeds to prove, by extensive argument, the author proceeds to prove, by extensive argument, the author proceeds to prove, by extensive argument, Wielding talents far beyond the possession of moswhat no one can seriously deny, that no exigency can justify the violation of an inviolable principle. He men, and having these enriched by a broad and varied should first have proved his principle inviolable, and culture, gifted with a rare range of vision, and a this conclusively. It is not enough to say that 'the striking felicity of statement, able always to charm claim of a right to take the life of a man becomes with his brilliant generalizations and polished utter preposterous in view of the fact that God gave him his life, and that the taking of it by another is a prelaid all upon the altar of his ambition. Eloquent on ative. God also gave to man his liberty, and the right to possess the avails of his industry, but Mr. ever ignored those rights in the person of the Ameri-

ty or inviolability because God gave it, for God gave Europe, he has omitted no opportunity to testify his loyalty to slavery as against all who seek its over throw. To the high-handed measures employed by the Senate for hunting down and crushing out the friends of John Brown, he has given unhesitating highest even of worldly possessions. Property, or support. He has recorded his vote promptly for the seizure of John Brown, Jr., Redpath, Sanborn, and

its solemn cant, its adroit, jesuitical tergiversation I think that Christ did not consider this mortal life of ours a matter of such great value and sanctiof the American Union, glorifies Clay and Webster ty, (10) for he did not inculcate extreme care for it, for their subserviency to its demands, as evinced in but rather the contrary. If life be a matter of para-their support of the Compromise measures of 1850, mount value and sacredness, our own lives are so, including the infamous Fugitive Slave bill; comequally with others', and should therefore never be mends the Republican party as 'the white man's put in peril; but Christ avowedly put his own life party, more than intimating its entire assent to the and the lives of his followers in peril, and when he atrocious dogma that black men have no rights which forbade the use of the sword in defence, he gave a white men are bound to respect,' flouts the sacred memory of John Brown, and pledges to the slave States, whose exactions and outrages he touches upor (9.) My friend's three cases are adapted strongly only in the careful, choice language of euphemis to impress the feelings, and would avail him much if the full support and protection of the Republical the matter were to be settled by feeling. Since, how. party against any who may interfere for the subversion ever, it is to be settled by reference to a law, the law of slavery. Could sycophancy stoop lower, or venality of love to the enemy and injurer, requiring the return crawl farther, certainly while affecting any vestige of

What lover of Truth and Justice may regret, that whoever else is nominated, he is not, who could thu his own unfaithfulness to his rule. (The second case trifle with conviction, and trample on duty i-who is of an entirely different sort, a case of mutual confor advantage? - who could deliberately insult the ashes of the heroes of Harper's Ferry, and utter his the value and sanctity of bodily life, than on the duty of guiding our conduct by the law of love. benediction upon their murderers?—who could turn his tack upon Thaddeus Hyatt, leaving him to perist.

in a Washington jan, and the not expect treacher, even at the hands of his associates, who proves to to human nature?

Not that the Republican party occupies, in its rela-Not that the report of the first that the report of the first that the report of the first that members stand is hardly so high as his. They, with him, are idolators of the same faith and obserhim, are identified to control bowing down all together before the pitiful idel of bowing down an expension with idelators, when it availability. As is they fall upon and deveur each other. For the sake of his own personal say Mr. Seward offered up his priceless birthright, an the party in turn, for the sake of its success, income lates him upon the same altar. Under the sire Nemeris that presides in all the affairs of this world, following all wrong-doers along whatever put, had men are often made the instruments of retributes men are other. . Howbeit he meaneth not a neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his hose to destroy and cut off nations not a few."

Nor is the Republican party to be charged as going of any new or unwanted dereliction from this desertion of their time-honored ander, a king of the prominent names in it, warm friends of Mg. Seward, are disposed to aver. Whatever its inf. delity, it has not, in this matter, acted inconsist with itself. That party is constitutionally, and from with itself. I mae party is truckling, time-serving party. It was conceived in timidity, and brought forh in It was conceived in the never drawn the first breath in any other air. False at the outset to human nature, ignoring the despised black man, it has no reason in its code of ethics for refusing to sacrifice any white man, even though he should be the most gifted and worthy name in its ranks, for its own party objects, Let no one who worships in this cannibal temple com-

Prospectively, too, the friends of Freedom have nothing to regret in this defeat. Probe man in our country to-day, of such capacity for injury, so well able to bewilder and bewitch, to stultify and seduce, to debauch the conscience of the nation and hinder the day of its deliverance, as Wm. H. Seward. His magnetic manner, his specious argumentation, his apparent elevation and catholic breadth. the prestige of his name, his wide reputation for statesmanship, sagacity, skill, all are made to contribute to this end. He is the jesuit of our American politics. Where he speaks there is incantation, where breathes there is subtle poison.

Mr. Lincoln may be by natural gift much less of a man, in character much less of 'a progressive.' With whatever impulses towards humanity, he must of course be powerless enough upon a platform that does abject worship to the Union and the Slave Power of this country; a platform that, ominously silent as it is upon the Dred Scott decision, the Fugitive Sigre bill, and the prospective multiplication of slave States. is yet stupidly emphatic in proclaiming the supreme rights of the States over 'their own domestic institutions,' and in pronouncing its curse and threat upon any who may presume to interpose in behalf of their crushed victims. Mr. Lincoln's administration, in the event of his election, may be an imbecility-may be a malignity; but it is hardly possible that its cowardice, corruptions and betrayals should be so speciously masked, so artfully baptized into the sacred name of Philanthropy, Integrity and Virtue, as in the case of Mr. Seward's elevation would be sure to CHARLES D. B. MILLS Syracuse, May 31, 1860.

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